

Hudson's Bay

Miscellany

1670-1870

THE HUDSON'S BAY RECORD SOCIETY

VOLUME XXX





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XXX







# THE HUDSON'S BAY RECORD SOCIETY

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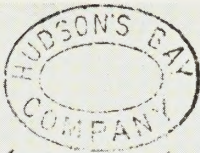
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1<sup>st</sup> Class

1832

1

No 1 a foolish trifling conceited man, who would stume in any other Country and is perfectly useless here: fancies, in other attempts to pass himself off as a clever fellow, a man of taste, of talents and of refinement; the none of which I need scarce say he has the smallest pretension. He was bred to his Father's Trade an Operative Weaver in the Town of Perth, but was too lazy to live by his Loom; read Novels, became sentimental and fancied himself the Hero of every tale of Romance that passed through his head. - Ran away from his Mother, found employment for a few Months as a Books Propman at New York, but had not sufficient steadiness to retain his Situation. pushed his way into Canada and was at the Age of 25 engaged an Apprentice Clerk by the N.W. Coy for whom he came to the interior, but found so useless that he was dismissed the Service. His age about 55 and his person of which he is exceedingly vain, large, soft, loosely thrown together in a tone and helpless to infirmity. - He is full of silly boasting & Egotism, rarely deals in plain matter of fact and his integrity is very questionable. - To the Fur Trade he is quite a ~~stranger~~ *stranger*



HUDSON'S BAY  
MISCELLANY  
1670-1870

EDITED WITH INTRODUCTIONS BY  
GLYNDWR WILLIAMS, PH.D.  
*Professor of History*  
*Queen Mary College, London*

WINNIPEG  
HUDSON'S BAY RECORD SOCIETY  
1975

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# CONTENTS

	PAGE
PREFACE	ix
ALBANY FORT JOURNAL, 1705-06	I
Introduction	3
Text	10
Trade lists	66
'REMARKS' ON THE FRENCH RAIDS ON CHURCHILL AND YORK, 1782	75
Introduction	77
Text	81
JAMES TATE'S JOURNAL, 1809-12	95
Introduction	97
Text	106
THE 'CHARACTER BOOK' OF GEORGE SIMPSON, 1832	151
Introduction	153
Lists of Chief Factors and Chief Traders	167
Text	169
INDEX	237
FRONTISPIECE	
The first page of Simpson's 'Character Book', 1832	

## MAPS

1	SAMUEL HEARNE, 'A PLAN OF ALBANY RIVER IN HUDSON'S BAY', 1774	<i>facing page</i>	12
2	SECTION FROM JOSEPH ROBSON, 'A DRAUGHT OF NELSON & HAYES'S RIVERS', 1752	<i>facing page</i>	92
3	SECTION FROM 'A MAP OF AMERICA, BETWEEN LATITUDES 40 AND 70 NORTH, AND LONGI- TUDES 45 AND 180 WEST, EXHIBITING THE PRINCIPAL TRADING STATIONS OF THE NORTH WEST COMPANY', C. 1817	<i>facing page</i>	124
4	THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY POSTS IN 1832	<i>at end</i>	



## PREFACE

THE present volume marks the end of an era for the Hudson's Bay Record Society. From the beginning closely associated with the Archives of the Hudson's Bay Company, the Society is following the Archives to a new location in Canada, and Volume XXXI for 1977 will be issued under the aegis of the Society's first Canadian General Editor.

The Hudson's Bay Record Society had its origins in the decision of the Hudson's Bay Company in the early 1930s to allow scholars access to documents in its possession up to 1870, and in the work of the then Archivist, Mr R. H. G. Leveson Gower, in assembling and classifying the Company's records. By the mid 1930s the Company under the governorship of Mr (later Sir) Patrick Ashley Cooper was engaged in serious preparations for a publication programme of its records supervised by an independent scholar, and in April 1938 the Hudson's Bay Record Society was incorporated under royal patronage with this end in view. To ensure historical objectivity an Executive Committee of the Record Society was established which was distinct from the Company as such, although the Deputy Governor was a member. Sir Campbell Stuart and Sir Edward Peacock, both Canadians, and the first Secretary of the Record Society, J. Chadwick Brooks, all played important parts in organizing this unique venture; and Campbell Stuart remained Chairman of the Executive Committee until 1960. Under the General Editorship of E. E. Rich, Fellow of St Catharine's College, Cambridge (later Vere Harmsworth Professor of Naval and Imperial History at Cambridge University, and Master of St Catharine's College), the Record Society contracted to publish an annual volume of documents in collaboration with the Champlain Society, whose support in the early years was another essential element in the successful establishment of the Society. Volume I was issued in November 1938, but the next six volumes were published under wartime conditions when most of the Company's records were moved from London to Hertfordshire. A review of Volume V by Dr Grace Lee Nute in *The Beaver* for September 1943 showed that the difficulties under which the Society laboured were appreciated across the Atlantic:

Five volumes have been issued in six years, though the war must have disrupted most of the Company's plans during the entire period. Original records had to be moved to safe localities, buildings were bombed, men and women employees left for military and

other pressing duties, reference libraries where necessary research had to be done were closed or curtailed in their activities — still the work of preparing a volume of records every year went patiently, dauntlessly on.

With E. E. Rich in the army from 1941 to 1945, much of the time abroad, a considerable share in the credit for keeping a full publication programme alive during the war years must go to Miss Alice M. Johnson in the London office whose contribution to the Society's volumes was recognized with her appointment as Assistant Editor from 1948 to 1968. After the war E. E. Rich and Miss Johnson continued to edit a steady flow of volumes, which from 1949 were published under the sole imprint of the Record Society, whose Secretary was now R. A. Reynolds. Professor Rich's General Editorship ended with the publication in 1958 and 1959 of his two-volume *History of the Hudson's Bay Company 1670-1870*, a fitting climax to a tenure of office which saw the issue of twenty-two volumes by the Record Society. K. G. Davies, Fellow of New College, Oxford (later Professor of History, University of Bristol), succeeded E. E. Rich as General Editor in 1960, at which time it was decided to issue volumes on a biennial basis, and in a new format. A reorganized Executive Committee was set up under the chairmanship of Mr (later Sir) William Keswick and then of Viscount Amory. Professor Davies remained General Editor until 1967, when he was succeeded by the present Editor, whose eight-year term comes to an end with the publication of this volume.

The volumes issued by the Society have been collaborative efforts in every sense of the term. The Introductions have been written by scholars of distinction in the fields of North American and British history. Within the Archives Department successive General Editors have received the skilled and devoted assistance of a series of Archivists: R. H. G. Leveson Gower (1923-48), Alice M. Johnson (1950-68), Joan Craig (1968-73) and, most recently, Shirlee A. Smith. Among the staff of the Archives Department Miss Gwen Kemp has contributed in the way of research and typing to every Record Society volume since 1949. Tribute should also be paid to the printers who have produced the Record Society volumes from the beginning, Robert MacLehose & Company, Limited, Printers to the University of Glasgow, and in particular, to two 'MacLehose men', the late John Easton and his son Stephen Easton. Finally, it remains to be said that none of this would have been possible without the support of the parent Company, reflected in the continuing help and interest of the Executive Committee of the Hudson's Bay Record Society.



The present General Editor was very conscious that Volume XXX should, in some way, be a commemorative volume; and so he has selected for publication four separate documents from the period 1670 to 1870, those two hundred years in the Company's history to which the previous twenty-nine volumes of the Record Society relate. The first document is the Albany journal (B.3/a/1) kept by Anthony Beale in 1705-06. It is the earliest journal from the Bay posts to have survived, and as such it is the forerunner of the great series of post journals which form so substantial a source for the history of the Company in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The second document is an anonymous account (E.2/12, pp. 622-42) by a Hudson's Bay Company officer of the taking and destruction of Prince of Wales Fort, Churchill River, and York Factory, by a French squadron commanded by La Pérouse in 1782. The third document is a narrative (B.57/a/3) by James Tate, a Company labourer at the Eagle Lake post, of his experiences in the hands of the Northwesters between 1809 and 1811. The fourth document is perhaps the one of most general interest, Governor George Simpson's celebrated 'Character Book' of 1832 (A.34/2). Probably no other single document in the Archives has been used and quoted so extensively, and a critical edition of this remarkable series of confidential entries on the Company's Chief Factors, Chief Traders, clerks and postmasters in the year 1832 is long overdue.

Apart from the usual help received from the Archives staff in producing this volume, the General Editor is grateful for the assistance he has received from Dr W. A. Kenyon (the Albany journal), Philip Goldring (Tate's journal), and Professor John S. Galbraith and Miss Sylvia Van Kirk (Simpson's 'Character Book'); the footnotes to the text of the latter owe much to Miss Van Kirk's scrutiny and suggestion. The General Editor would also like to record his thanks to Mrs Elaine G. Mitchell for allowing him to consult the correspondence of Angus Cameron in her possession, to Mr Willard Ireland, then Provincial Archivist and Librarian of British Columbia, for sending transcripts of letters in the Donald Ross collection at very short notice, to Dr W. I. Smith, Dominion Archivist at the Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa, for supplying microfilm of part of the Hargrave Papers, and to the Champlain Society for permission to quote from its edition of *The Hargrave Correspondence 1821-1843* (Toronto, 1938). Information for the map of the Company posts in 1832 was collected by Miss Kemp of the Archives Department, and the map was drawn by Mrs Margaret Sinclair.

GLYNDWR WILLIAMS

*Queen Mary College, London*



ALBANY FORT JOURNAL  
1705-06

The Albany Fort journal for 1705–06 (B.3/a/1) consists of eighty-eight folios of unlined paper measuring  $12\frac{1}{4} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$  inches bound in twentieth-century binding of dark blue buckram with parchment spine and corners. Inserted on the inside front cover is the original cover bearing the title 'Journall of Transactions at Albany Fort Comenced The 13th Sept 1705 & Ending The 15th of July 1706 p Antho Beal'. The pages have a watermark 'DP' and a shield bearing a cross with a sword in the left-hand top section. Folios 3–59d. contain the journal, written throughout in the same clerical hand, and signed after the last entry 'Anthony Beale'. Examination of the handwriting of the surviving Albany records for 1705–06 indicates that the journal, and also the account book and minutes, were all written by the accountant, Stephen Pitts. In the printed version of the journal given here the capitalization and spelling of common names have been modernized, and some punctuation added; but place and proper names have been spelt as written.



## INTRODUCTION

The casual way in which the Hudson's Bay Company treated its records during the first decades of its existence<sup>1</sup> probably explains why the Albany journal for 1705–06 is the earliest one to survive although we know that journals were kept at the Bayside posts at least from the 1680s. In 1683 the Governor and Committee instructed Henry Sergeant, Governor at the Bottom of the Bay, and John Bridgar, Governor at Port Nelson, to keep 'Journalls of what hath been done in the respective factories & of all occurances . . . that we may know how they & those under them have employed their time . . .'.<sup>2</sup> A later statement by Sergeant mentions his 'Journall',<sup>3</sup> apparently kept at Albany River in 1684, and in a letter of June 1687 the Governor and Committee referred to 'Journalls Invoyce and the other papers' received from George Geyer, Governor at Port Nelson.<sup>4</sup> Again in 1693 the Committee mentioned the 'Letters & Journall you send home' in their letter to Geyer at York Factory.<sup>5</sup> Although there is no reference to keeping journals in the instructions sent to Albany in the early eighteenth century, the heading of the 1705–06 journal printed here, 'A Continuation of the Transactions of Albany Fort . . .' indicates that it was one of a series of which the earlier (and some of the later) volumes have disappeared.<sup>6</sup>

The mouth of the Albany River (Chichewan as it was called until 1683) in the southwest corner of James Bay was first visited by Company traders in 1674, and a permanent post was established there a few years later, probably in the fall of 1678, by John Bridgar. In 1684 bricks and other building materials were sent from England to extend and strengthen the fort, described two years later by the Frenchman Pierre de Troyes, who captured it together with the smaller posts at Moose River and Rupert River:

<sup>1</sup> See Joan Craig, 'Three Hundred Years of Records' in *The Beaver* (Winnipeg, Hudson's Bay Company), Autumn 1970, pp. 66–7.

<sup>2</sup> H[udson's] B[ay] R[ecord] S[ociety], Vol. XI, E. E. Rich and A. M. Johnson, editors, *Copy-Book of Letters Outward &c Begins 29th May, 1680 Ends 5 July, 1687* (Toronto, Champlain Society, 1948, and London, Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1948), pp. 73, 79, 88.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 322.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 232.

<sup>5</sup> *H.B.R.S.*, Vol. XX, E. E. Rich and A. M. Johnson, editors, *Hudson's Bay Copy Booke of Letters Commissions Instructions Outward 1688–1696* (London, Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1957), p. 190.

<sup>6</sup> Beale's journal for 1706–07 has survived (Hudson's Bay Company Archives B.3/a/2), but there is then a gap until his journal of 1711–12 (B.3/a/3). Subsequent classification numbers refer to Hudson's Bay Company Archives.

There is a large main building constructed of horizontal logs which forms the major part of the curtain which faces the river. This is the servants' quarters, having at each end a score of stakes which make up the curtain at each side, and join the building to the bastions with which it is flanked. The side which faces the woods is built in the same way. There, the large building serves both as the dwelling of the governor and as a warehouse. The ground floors of the bastion on this side of the fort are also used for storage.

The other two curtains are composed of thick stakes strongly joined together, and capped by a plank garnished with iron points, as are all those which surround the place . . . The four bastions with which the fort is defended are of horizontal logs . . . It is about forty feet from the river, surrounded by old ditches almost filled up, which contain water only in some places.<sup>1</sup>

Recent excavations have shown that this fairly substantial post was situated at Fishing Creek on the south bank of the river, on top of the remnants of the earlier structure of 1678–79 which seems to have been a simple rectangular log building.<sup>2</sup> The French held the post from 1686 until its recapture by James Knight in 1693, and it was then occupied continuously by the Hudson's Bay Company until its abandonment in favour of a new site two or three miles away on Bayly Island (modern Albany Island) in 1720 or 1721. The Albany Fort of Anthony Beale's day, then, was the 'Old Factory' marked on Hearne's map of 1774.<sup>3</sup> It consisted of two buildings, the 'great house'<sup>4</sup> where most of the forty-six men<sup>5</sup> stationed at Albany in the 1705–06 season had their quarters, and the Governor's residence, part of which probably served also as a warehouse for stores and furs. Protecting the buildings were the palisade and four flankers or bastions described by de Troyes, the latter mounting cannon but by Beale's time weakened by rotting woodwork (it is perhaps significant that there is no mention in the journal of any practice firing of the 'great guns'). Round and about the fort were kitchen gardens, a 'cowhouse' which as yet sheltered only sheep and goats, and farther away by the river banks and marshes where the grass grew long in the summer a half-dozen or so hayricks. This mixture of domestic bustle, business activity and warlike preparation which fills Beale's journal reflects

<sup>1</sup> W. A. Kenyon and J. R. Turnbull, editors, *The Battle for James Bay* (Toronto, 1971), pp. 83–4.

<sup>2</sup> See a series of articles by W. A. Kenyon in *The Beaver*: 'Old Fort Albany Relics', Summer, 1961, pp. 21–3; 'The "Old House" at Albany', Autumn, 1965, pp. 48–52; and in particular '“Old House” at Albany', Winter 1973, pp. 48–53.

<sup>3</sup> Facing p. 32.

<sup>4</sup> To use Beale's expression; see p. 22.

<sup>5</sup> They are listed in A.15/5, fo. 137.

Albany's position in this period; for with the French occupying York, and with Moose and Rupert House abandoned, Albany from 1697 to 1714 was the only permanent post in the Company's possession. The trade of the Company during these years of war, and in a sense its future as a commercial undertaking, rested on this single post with its garrison of less than fifty men on the south bank of the Albany River.

In 1705 it saw a change of Governor. John Fullartine, racked by kidney trouble, was leaving for England on the *Hudson's Bay*, the first Company ship to call at Albany since 1703. He was replaced as Governor by Anthony Beale, who had joined the Company as an apprentice in 1678, and had served at Albany (or at one of the temporary stations on the East Main) since the fort's repossession by James Knight in 1693.<sup>1</sup> On Knight's return to England in 1700, Beale was appointed deputy to the new Governor, Fullartine, and when the latter decided to resign he recommended Beale to the London Committee as 'a very careful, honest man and knows the affairs of this country as well as most men that ever were in it and deserves encouragement as being an old servant and one that has always been faithful to his masters'.<sup>2</sup> Beale was accordingly sent a commission by the London Committee, and on 13 September 1705 a formal change of Governor took place, with Beale's commission being read out before the assembled garrison, and Fullartine handing over the keys of the fort to his successor before embarking on the *Hudson's Bay*, commander Michael Grimington.

Beale's journal, which begins on this day, takes up the story. The *Hudson's Bay* ran aground in the notoriously difficult channel of the Albany River, Grimington was ill, and the upshot was that the ship was forced to winter across James Bay at Gilpin Island. A fiery quarrel between Beale and Fullartine as to which of them was now Governor resulted in victory for the former, and by the end of September Fullartine and the *Hudson's Bay* had departed for their uncomfortable winter quarters on the other side of James Bay. The vessel's presence on the Eastmain at least resolved for Beale the problem of whether or not to send the fort's sloop, the *Knight*, across to winter there and to pick up trade as had been done in most previous years. The decision would not have been an easy one, for the London Committee had given no clear instructions on the subject, and mentioned the possibility with more foreboding than enthusiasm:

<sup>1</sup> For biographical sketches of Beale see *H.B.R.S.*, Vol. XXV, K. G. Davies and A. M. Johnson editors, *Letters from Hudson Bay 1703-40* (London, Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1965), pp. 355-61; David M. Hayne and André Vachon, editors, *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* (Toronto, 1969), Vol. II, pp. 49-52.

<sup>2</sup> *H.B.R.S.*, XXV, 10.



As to the Trade of the East maine wee must Leave that wholely to yr Judgment, whether it will be safe for you to winter A Shipp there with A few hands Least she becomes A prey to the French, and by the use of her be able to bring Cannon or Morters from Port Nelson & be able to Reduce you by that meanes. . . .<sup>1</sup>

Now undisputed master at Albany, Beale settled down to his first winter in command. With a larger garrison than usual (since no men were able to return to England, whether time-expired or not), Beale faced a worrying problem over provisions. Fish, that great standby at the Company posts, were in shorter supply than usual, and the abnormally mild winter with its light falls of snow made tracking and hunting difficult. As a result, starving Indians began arriving at the fort in January, and considerations both of humanity and business dictated that they should be given supplies. While the tradesmen — the smiths, the carpenter, the tailor — busied themselves at their specialist duties, many of the 'labourers' spent a good proportion of their time away from the fort, sometimes returning at night but often living out in the woods for weeks at a time. Felling and sledding wood, hunting, shooting, trapping, they lived an arduous but apparently healthy life. The journal records no deaths, no illnesses (save among the Indians); and although it is dangerous to draw positive conclusions from the silences of a journal as laconic as Beale's it is worth noting that when he returned to Albany in 1711 after an absence of three years he wrote to the Committee the next summer that 'Your country is very much altered to what it was formerly for we have had many men sick this winter'.<sup>2</sup>

Little of Beale's personality emerges from the journal, except perhaps in its rather lugubrious tone when it notes the problems he faced. His entries show little of the loquacious curiosity and endless self-justification which characterize the surviving journals of his contemporary James Knight, and nothing of the zest for observation shown by a few later factors such as James Isham and Andrew Graham. The journal is in fact representative of the great mass of post journals preserved in the Archives. It reports the essentials, but eschews speculation; it has no literary pretensions, and confines itself to the recording of daily events, those 'occurrences' of which the London Committee had written in 1683. It is silent on many aspects of life at the fort we should like to hear about; and to help supplement its brief entries it is followed here by a number of lists which have been extracted from the Albany account book of 1705-06 kept by Stephen Pitts.<sup>3</sup> Table 1 notes the trade goods used at Albany,

<sup>1</sup> A.6/3, fo. 70d.

<sup>2</sup> *H.B.R.S.*, XXV, 24.

<sup>3</sup> Pp. 66-73.



ranging from the standard ones of the Indian trade — guns, ammunition, hatchets, kettles, cloth, tobacco — to the more exotic ostrich feathers, ivory combs and bells. Tables 2 and 3 show the standard of trade and the rating of furs in terms of beaver; although the specific nature of these two lists can be misleading. In the 1705–06 season or outfit Beale received furs valued at 18,172 made beaver; for them he traded goods rated at only 12,538 made beaver. The discrepancy, which is normal for the period,<sup>1</sup> was caused by the operation of the ‘overplus’, that is the margin between the Company’s official standard and the factor’s local standard. The Albany lists provide another piece of evidence to support the judgment of the Company’s official history: ‘... the Governors kept the Standard of Trade as a purely token basis for their accounts with the Company: the actual trade was carried on at the best rate which the Indians would tolerate’.<sup>2</sup> Finally, Tables 4 and 5 show the provisions and stores held at Albany; detailed comment on these long and fascinating inventories would be superfluous, except to remark that the fort with its inhabitants was as self-contained, and in many ways more isolated, than a ship at sea.<sup>3</sup> With luck a Company vessel might arrive the next year, but there was no guarantee of this; and with his experience of the irregularity of shipping at Albany Governor Beale was aware that what he held in his warehouse, supplemented by the resources of the country, might have to last his garrison and its dependent Indians for two or even three years.

The year at a fur-trade post reached its climax with the arrival of the trading Indians in the summer; the rest of the year was little more than a period of waiting for those few hectic weeks. Beale’s entries show that Albany was attracting Indians from all directions — as one would expect with no local competition. They came from the north, down the Albany River itself, and along the coast from the mouth of the Moose River sixty miles to the south, this last a difficult and perilous journey.<sup>4</sup> The furs were probably trapped as far away as Lake Abitibi in one direction, and the southern part of the Lake Winnipeg basin in another. In all, about eighty canoes of Indians arrived in April, May and June, and although the journal contents itself with noting their arrival and departure the summer was a busy and anxious time for Beale. Before the bargaining began, the Indian leaders had to be welcomed, perhaps with a degree of ceremony (the journal is silent on this), certainly with gifts. It was Beale’s

<sup>1</sup> See *H.B.R.S.*, XXV, 349.

<sup>2</sup> *H.B.R.S.*, Vol. XXI, E. E. Rich, *The History of the Hudson’s Bay Company 1670–1870 Volume I: 1670–1763* (London, Hudson’s Bay Record Society, 1958), p. 595.

<sup>3</sup> A comparison used by Dr Richard Glover in his Introduction to *H.B.R.S.*, XXV, to which readers are referred for a scholarly reconstruction of life at the Bay posts in this period.

<sup>4</sup> See *ibid.*, 124.

job to explain the standard of trade in force that year, and to reconcile his specific instructions from home (which sternly warned against trading summer or coat beaver) with the skins laid out in front of him. Beale, like any Company factor in times of difficult commercial conditions at home, walked a perpetual tightrope during the trading season. If he followed the Committee's instructions to the letter he would antagonize the Indians, perhaps even lose their trade; if he interpreted them too liberally he would trade worthless skins which could not be sold on the London market. That the Committee understood something of the dilemma is shown by the devious methods it urged on Beale: 'Wee thinke it Adviseable for you to tell the Indians in the fall of the yeare, you will sell noe Twine, nor vermillion, but for small furr, to make them the more industrious in Killing, although wee & you Know you must doe otherwise, or some of them will starve'.<sup>1</sup> At the same time the work of shooting and salting geese from the spring hunt had to be supervised; men had to be allocated to deal with the weeds which were flourishing with tropical abandon in the fort's gardens; and Beale had to decide on the right moment to send men some miles away to cut and stack the grass which would provide winter fodder for his sheep and goats. This scattering of the garrison had its dangers, for the trading season was also the time when the French might be expected to attack, with the rivers free of ice, and the Bay clearing fast — and Beale's peace of mind could not have been helped by the alarmist reports brought in by the Indians.<sup>2</sup>

Early in July one of Beale's main worries was eased when the *Hudson's Bay* reached the roadstead from her winter quarters, and the *Knight* sloop could begin to take out to her the furs traded during the past three years. Also making preparations to go on board were almost half the garrison, despite Beale's efforts to persuade them to stay. He explained to the London Committee:

The whole number of men and boys that continues in the country is but twenty-seven which God knows is but a few to defend your country, however with God's assistance I will do the best I can. The men in the country whose time was out not one would stay in a long time by reason there is no certainty of ships coming, and at last when I got a few to stay I was forced to give them extravagant wages.<sup>3</sup>

Another wordy encounter with Fullartine resulted in the testy ex-Governor living in a tent outside the fort until the vessel was ready to sail, which it did on 25 July 1706. Beale had already closed his journal,

<sup>1</sup> A.6/3, fo. 70d.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 50.

<sup>3</sup> *H.B.R.S.*, XXV, 16.

ready to be put on board for delivery to the London Committee, ten days earlier. It is appropriate to the mundane, undramatic nature of the document that its last sentence reads, 'Had a goat kidded of one he kid'.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> P. 65. Beale returned to England in 1708, but took command at Albany once more from Fullartine in 1711 and remained there until 1714. He was not employed by the Company again until 1720; he then served as deputy at York until 1726, and as chief for a year before taking command at Churchill in 1727. He died at Churchill on 13 April 1731. His epitaph has been provided by his modern biographer: 'Beale's rise from humble beginnings is evidence enough of character and purpose. His abilities were limited, perhaps because of lack of much experience in the world beyond Hudson Bay, but his courage, loyalty and knowledge of the fur trade and Indians were important to the HBC, particularly during the time when it had only a precarious foothold in Hudson Bay'. Hayne and Vachon, *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, II, 52.



# A CONTINUATION OF THE TRANSACTIONS OF ALBANY FORT BEGINNING SEPTEMBER THE 13<sup>th</sup> 1705

*September 13*, Thursday. Fine clear weather, the wind at ENE a fresh gale. This afternoon Governor Fullertine<sup>1</sup> called all the men together in the yard, then my commission was read. Then he delivered the keys with charge of the factory to me, giving good advice to all the men to obey and stand by their Governor in the defence of the Company's interest. So done he took his leave and went on board the *Hudson's Bay* frigate<sup>2</sup> now bound for England, and I pray God send him a good voyage and safe to their desired port.

*September 14*, Friday. It continues brave<sup>3</sup> clear weather, the wind at NNW a fresh gale. This evening the *Hudson's Bay* frigate weighed anchor to sail lower down the river, but in a little time she run fast aground for which I am sorry, it being late in the year. I have been busy a trading with Indians, some of them have lain here a long time before the ship came, and others as came since, but I would not trade with any till the ship was dispatched for England.

*September 15*, Saturday. Close heavy weather, the wind ENE a fine moderate gale. I sent eight men to the woods to cut fire wood for the winter's burning. I sent a canoe on board the *Hudson's Bay* with two of

<sup>1</sup> John Fullartine (Fullertine, Fullerton) joined the Hudson's Bay Company in 1683 as a tradesman, was twice taken prisoner by the French during campaigns in the Bay, and since the 1700–1701 season had acted as Governor at Albany. He was given a commission from the Company in 1701 which formally made him governor and chief commander of Albany, Moose and Rupert Rivers, and all the territories within Hudson Strait and Bay, and this was strengthened in 1702 by a royal commission. In his letter of 1703 to the Committee, the earliest from Albany to survive in the Archives, he asked to return home the next year since he had been 'sadly tortured with the gravel and stone in my kidneys this last year insomuch that for £1000 I would not go through such another provided I could any ways avoid it'; but since no ship was sent to Albany in 1704, and the *Hudson's Bay* which arrived in 1705 was forced to winter, he did not reach England until October 1706. Fullartine returned to Albany in 1708, successfully defended the post against the French in 1709, and finally returned to England in 1711, where he became a member of the Committee until shortly before his death in 1738. *H.B.R.S.*, XXV, 361–8; Hayne and Vachon, *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, II, 231–3.

<sup>2</sup> The *Hudson's Bay* [II] was built in 1702 by James Taylor; she was of 160 tons burden and carried twelve guns. A.1/24, fos. 8d., 17d., 20d.; A.6/3, fo. 53d. She made her first voyage to the Bay in 1702 under the command of Captain Michael Grimington, but failed to reach Albany and wintered at Gilpin Island off the Eastmain. It is not known whether she made a voyage in 1704. Grimington's sailing orders for the 1705 voyage are in A.6/3, fos. 72–72d. For details of the vessel's later voyages see *H.B.R.S.*, XXV, 336–7. In December 1714 the Committee ordered her to be sold, and she was purchased in January 1715 at Lloyd's Coffee House by Mr Ayre, ship broker, for £310. A.1/33, fos. 124, 126d.

<sup>3</sup> One of Beale's favourite words; perhaps more familiar in its Scottish form, 'braw', meaning good, fine, excellent.



our men who returned and told me the ship was still on ground, that the *Knight* frigate<sup>1</sup> was along her side. After taking out things to lighten her they are in hopes to get her off the next tide, which I pray God they may and send her well out of the river for it grows very late in the year. Most of the Indians are traded and gone. I had two nets set in the creek this evening. I shall save what geese I can in salt for the winter's spending.

September 16, Sunday. Brave clear weather, the wind ESE a fine moderate gale. I went on board the *Hudson's Bay* to see how twas with them. The ship was still on ground which I was very sorry to see, the season of the year will not allow time to be thus spent. They have used means to get her off by taking part of her lading out but the tides taken off that she has floated since first she went aground. Had out the nets which was set yesterday. Forty tickomeg<sup>2</sup> today.

September 17, Monday. It continues much such weather as yesterday. The wind at SEbE. About noon Captain Fullertine came up to the Factory who is much concerned for their misfortune. He tells me the ship is not got off the sands, nor I believe will not till we have a shift of wind for with these winds we have always a low tide. Captain Fullertine did not stay long with us, but went on board again in hopes of better fortune. Had from the nets thirty-eight fish today.

September 18, Tuesday. Blustering, rainy, squally weather, the wind at NW which made high tides. The ship got off the sands and lower the river, and I pray God send her well out and safe to her desired port. My

<sup>1</sup> The *Knight*, a sloop rather than a frigate, was built in 1696 by James Taylor. Named after Captain James Knight, she was of about 48 tons burden. For details of her measurements see *H.B.R.S.*, XX, 269n. The *Knight* sailed to York Factory and then to Albany in 1696 (*ibid.*, 335), and remained at the Bottom of the Bay until 1712 when she returned to England. She was sold in April 1713 to Mr Jacob Poop for £110 (*H.B.R.S.*, XXV, 12n).

<sup>2</sup> The tickomeg, or gwyniad, was a name applied to two species, the Common Whitefish, *Coregonus clupeaformis* (Mitchill) and the Round Whitefish, *Prosopium cylindraceum* (Richardson). See *H.B.R.S.*, Vol XXVII, Glyndwr Williams, editor, *Andrew Graham's Observations on Hudson's Bay 1767-91* (London, Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1969), p. 122n. We have two good descriptions by Hudson's Bay men: '... is Like a herring is also Very Numerous, Catching with a Setting net, in the Summer season, when they come from the sea into the Rivers to spawn, some hundreds, and with a sean some thousands at one haw'l, they are a Very soft fish but good Eating, we preserve them with salting as also jack pike trout & perch for the winter time ...'. James Isham, *H.B.R.S.*, Vol XII, E. E. Rich and A. M. Johnson, editors, *James Isham's Observations on Hudsons Bay, 1743 and Notes and Observations on a Book entitled A Voyage to Hudsons Bay in the Dobbs Galley, 1749* (Toronto, Champlain Society, 1949, and London, Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1949), p. 169. 'This fish weighs from two to four pounds. They are found in large quantities in several of the lakes and rivers. The Indians frequently catch five or six hundred in a day, by means of weirs, and I have been oftentimes present at hauling our seine net when we have turned out above one thousand each draught. The time of taking them in the lakes is in November; and in summer they frequent the rivers, but are then very poor. In autumn they are in good condition and then is the time that we catch them, as before observed. They will not take bait but are easily caught with nets. In gales of wind I have seen numbers of Guiniads drove up in the marshes serving as food for the crows and gulls. They are very sweet and good eating'. Andrew Graham, *H.B.R.S.*, XXVII, 122.

Indian hunters brought home forty-five geese. Had from the nets thirty-eight tickomeg today.

*September 19*, Wednesday. Close weather, the wind variable from NW that it was in the morning to the SW in the afternoon. The ship is got something lower down the river and I wish with all my heart she was clear of the river, for it grows late in the year. The men has been in the wood to cut firewood. The net affords one hundred fish which is but a small haul for the season of the year.

*September 20*, Thursday. It continues close weather, the wind at NNE and blew a fresh gale and fell a little snow. Thirteen men are gone to carry the wood that is cut out of the woods. The ship is still in the river, and I pray God send her well out and safe to England. Had from the nets forty-four fish, and I am very fearful of the fish failing us again as they did the last year because they come in very slow as yet.

*September 21*, Friday. Close weather, the wind NE and blew very hard with showers of rain and hail. We can see one of the ships from off our lookout, but whether it be the *Knight* or the *Hudson's Bay* we are not certain. This afternoon two Indian women came from the plains from the Little Rivers<sup>1</sup> to fetch powder and shot for the Indian hunters. It blew so very hard that they could not paddle round the marsh in their canoe. Twelve men have been to the woods and brought home two rafts. Had from the nets forty-eight fish.

*September 22*, Saturday. Blowing squally weather, the wind at N and NNE with showers of rain and snow. Two of my Indian hunters brought home seventeen geese. They told me there was a boat came ashore from the ship yesterday, and tide and wind had drove them so high in the marsh that they had a great deal of trouble to launch her again. The ship lies in the same place where she did which is very hard fortune being so very late in the year. Had from the nets thirty fish which is a small haul. However I had two nets more set today in hopes to get some quantity to salt for our winter spending. Two rafts of wood came home this evening.

*September 23*, Sunday. Brave clear sunshine weather, the wind variable from NW that it was in the morning to E that it was in the afternoon. I went down to see if the ship made any preparation to sail but I found them both at an anchor, the *Hudson's Bay* with her yards and top-masts down<sup>2</sup> which I was very sorry to see and I pray God send her safe out of

<sup>1</sup> Still named as such on Hearne's map of 1774, running along the south shore of the Albany River estuary east of the old fort.

<sup>2</sup> Taken down to keep the vessel stable, rather than fallen down — but even so a sign that the *Hudson's Bay* was not expected to move for some time.







the river and safe to England. Had thirty-seven geese from the Indians and fifty fish from the nets.

*September 24, Monday.* Continues brave clear weather, the wind easterly and a fine moderate gale. Two Indians as came from the north shore tells me that a leading Indian, Osentty, was drowned coming along shore from Chabuscan,<sup>1</sup> who was miserable poor having nothing to help himself withall. Captain Fullertine came in a boat to the Factory who tells me Captain Grimington<sup>2</sup> has been very much out of order, which is the chiefest reason that the ship lies so long in the river, and that he desires fifty skeins of twine and twelve hatchets, in case they should be forced to winter at Gilpin's Island,<sup>3</sup> which I sent on board by Captain Fullertine. So I understand by Captain Fullertine that they are afraid to go for England this fall. One raft of wood came home. Received from the Indians sixty-three geese, and from the nets thirty fish which is but a very poor haul for so late as it is now, and I am afraid we shall not catch any quantity this season for they are very backward of coming into the river.

*September 25, Tuesday.* Brave fair weather, the wind easterly in the forenoon but in the afternoon came to SW. The Indian hunters brought to the Factory ninety-seven geese. I went down the river in the boat to see if the ship was gone out of the river and met Captain Fullertine at the Popeller point<sup>4</sup> coming up to the Factory who told me Captain Grimington continued very ill, and they all despaired of proceeding their voyage for England this fall, being much later then ever any ship went from this place. Had out of the nets sixty fish.

*September 26, Wednesday.* It continues fair clear weather, the wind at SW and moderate gales. I called all my Council together that we might provide for the wintering of the *Hudson's Bay* frigate, Captain Michael Grimington Commander, it being so very late in the year, that we all thought it impossible to send her for England, both for the sake of men's lives and Company's interest. Therefore we agreed to winter her at

<sup>1</sup> Kapiskau River probably, running down to the coast opposite Akimiski Island, about forty miles north of Albany.

<sup>2</sup> Michael Grimington joined the Hudson's Bay Company as a seaman at least as early as 1680, by 1690 was in command of one of the Company's vessels, and from 1698 onwards commanded the Company ship making the voyage to Albany in 1698, 1699, 1701, 1702 and 1705. After wintering at Gilpin Island during the winter of 1705-06, Grimington returned to England in October 1706. His last voyage to the Bay was made to Albany in 1708; he died, still in command of the *Hudson's Bay*, in 1710. *H.B.R.S.*, XXV, 368-76; Hayne and Vachon, *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, II, 264-7.

<sup>3</sup> Gilpin Island, later known as Old Factory Island, was situated on the east coast of James Bay about thirty miles north of Eastmain Factory. James Knight had wintered there with his three ships in 1692-93, and Grimington had also wintered at the island with the *Hudson's Bay* in 1702-03. *H.B.R.S.*, XX, 123n, 202n, *H.B.R.S.*, XXV, 336.

<sup>4</sup> Poplar Point no doubt, but location unknown. Dr Kenyon suggests that it may possibly be the point on the west side of the gutway on the south shore of Albany Island.



Gilpin's Island.<sup>1</sup> This being all concluded, Captain Fullertine who was all this day with us, of a sudden grew very angry and assumed the government, saying the ship was not yet out of the river, therefore he was not departed, and whoever said to the contrary he would tie them neck and heels immediately. I made him this answer that I knew him to be given to passion and that I was sure after consideration he would not be guilty of what he now had offered, withall telling him when he delivered the charge of the Factory to me, and all that belonged thereunto, and embarked on board the ship bound for England and that he here was no longer Governor, therefore I should not deliver up the charge of the Factory that was appointed to me by my masters in England. After some discourse on this subject all was over.<sup>2</sup> Had from the nets 100 fish.

*September 27*, Thursday. It continues much such a day as yesterday was, the wind being at SW. The *Hudson's Bay* is at last got off the river. I have put provision and several trading goods on board the *Knight* and sent off in the road to her.<sup>3</sup> Captain Fullertine has taken charge of the trading goods to dispose of for the use of the Hudson's Bay Company. Had from the nets 200 fish.

*September 28*, Friday. Close weather, the wind variable from SW that it was in the morning to E in the afternoon. Captain Fullertine took his leave and went on board the *Knight* which lies at the creek's mouth, afterwards on board the *Hudson's Bay* bound for Gilpin's Island to

<sup>1</sup> The minutes of the council read: 'Whereas Captain Michael Grimington Commander of the *Hudson's Bay* frigate being consigned by the Honourable the Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company to John Fullertine their Governor and was dispatched by him by the 13th instant and in order to his sailing for England again he said Mr Fullertine being bound home along with him embarked aboard the same day after he had delivered up the government to Mr Anthony Beale appointed Governor by the aforesaid Committee but what by the unfortunate accidents of running aground and contrary winds and likewise the indisposition of the captain who has been sick for some time was hindered so that they could not get out of the river till such time that it was so late that there was no probability of their proceeding for England being now the 26th of the month and the ship not as yet got without the sands that the captain and all men aboard are afraid to venture home the season is so very late and now seeing it cannot otherways be avoided Mr Fullertine came up last night from the ship to acquaint us of their design of wintering and consult with us about the same and we have unanimously agreed to winter her at Gilpins Island and to send a cargo thither by the said Mr Fullertine which he is to trade with the natives for the account of the aforesaid Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company. [Signed]: Anthony Beale, Nathaniel Bishop, John Fullartine, Stephen Pitts, Richard Staunton.' A.11/2, fo. 10, printed in *H.B.R.S.*, XXV, 18n.-19n.

<sup>2</sup> In his report home the next summer Beale added that after Fullertine 'considered upon it he was in a good humour and next morning took his leave to go with the goods to the East Main'. *Ibid.*, 18.

<sup>3</sup> To judge by the entries since 14 September the *Hudson's Bay* had been lying somewhere in the south channel of the Albany River rather than out in the open roadstead (marked on Hearne's map as 'Albany Roads') where she apparently anchored the following summer (see 15 July entry, p. 65). Writing later, Andrew Graham noted: 'the river is wide, but so shoal and full of sand banks, that a ship cannot approach nigher than five leagues, and is obliged to ride in the open sea; where she is unloaded and receives her homeward-bound cargo by a large sloop'. *H.B.R.S.*, XXVII, 251-2. The next year, 1706, the *Pery*, commanded by Captain Joseph Davis, also ran aground off Albany, and was forced to remain there for the winter while her crew lived in the fort. See B.3/a/2, *passim*.

winter, which I pray God will do well and send a good cargo the next year. 200 fish today.

*September 29, Saturday.* Clear weather and froze a little last night, the wind was NW and blew a pretty fresh gale till about noon, then it varied to SE and was fine pleasant weather the remaining part of the day. An Indian called Spickahigon was brought here in a canoe who was taken lame in all his limbs to that degree as not being able to go of himself. I ordered four of our hands to carry him to. Had fifty-one geese from the Indian hunters. Twelve men went a wooding. Had from the nets 100 fish.

*September 30, Sunday.* Close thick heavy weather with squalls of rain and snow, a mixed wind NW and variable to the N and the NE. I went down to the Popplerpoint to see if the *Knight* frigate was a coming in, and I saw her at anchor and lay for the tide. This evening I went to the nets to see if they were set as they should. The nets stood well but there is but few fish in the river. Caught today only 300 which is far short of 2000 which we use to catch in a day formerly.

*October 1, Monday.* Indifferent clear weather, but it has snowed and froze a little. Last night the wind was variable from the NW to the NE and so continued all this day. The *Knight* frigate came in and Mr Thoyts<sup>1</sup> tells me that he put Captain Fullertine and all that he had with him on board the *Hudson's Bay* on Friday in the evening, and that they sailed immediately for Gilpins Island. Sent five men to the woods who brought home a raft. Had from the nets 350 fish. Mr Thoyts tells me that Captain Grimingtons pretty well recovered of his health again, which I hope will do well. The Act of Parliament was read today.<sup>2</sup>

*October 2, Tuesday.* Brave clear warm weather, little or no wind and that variable. Thirteen men are gone to the woods to raft, and withall to get some pieces for to lay the ship on. Some time after I followed them to forward the work. We made three rafts but could not bring them home because the tide did not float them. However we got the pieces for the ship and sent them down to Bayleys Island<sup>3</sup> for there the ship shall

<sup>1</sup> Alexander Thoyts (Thayts, Thoughts, Thwates), carpenter, joined or rejoined the Company's service in 1705. He may well have been the Alexander Thoughts who served at Port Nelson from 1689 to 1693 (A.14/5, fo. 200), for the London Committee went to some trouble to secure his services. A Committee minute for 23 May 1705 reads: 'Alexander Thoughts Carpenter being in Custody for Debt & his Creditors being willing to Release him upon ye Compies Advancing some moneys the Comtte doe agree to pay him ye Sume of twelve pounds provided he goe ye voyage this present yeare. Which is to be deducted out of his wages. . .'. A.1/27, fo. 17d. Apart from being the carpenter at Albany, Thoyts also seems to have been in command of the post's sloop, the *Knight* (judging by this entry, and those for 2 and 6 July on pp. 62-3).

<sup>2</sup> 11 and 12 William III, c.vii. The London Committee wrote to its Governor and Council at Albany, 30 May 1705, '... Wee have herewith sent you an Act of Parliament against Piracey which wee would have Publickly Read once A month in ye Factory. . .'. A.6/3, fo. 69d.

<sup>3</sup> Originally named after Charles Bayly, this island in the mouth of the Albany River was later named Factory Island (see Hearne's 1774 map) and is today Albany Island.

winter, for I do not think it safe to winter at the launch.<sup>1</sup> The *Knight's* yards and top masts and all the rigging is brought ashore this evening. Had from the nets 300 fish.

*October 3, Wednesday.* It continues clear weather and a little frost, and has fallen some small matter of snow this morning, but was all thawed before noon. The wind was NW and blew a fresh gale. I and seven men with me went and brought home the rafts of firewood which was made yesterday. The *Knight's* standing masts are brought ashore and she is ready to go to her winter quarters, and I shall take care the first opportunity to lay her up. Had from the nets 300 fish again which is but a very poor haul, and I am very fearful we shall catch but a very small quantity this fall.

*October 4, Thursday.* Close weather with squalls of snow and rain, the wind at NW blowing hard all day long. I could not send the ship down as I thought to have done but I sent Mr Thoyts and nine men with him to lay the waggies<sup>2</sup> ready for the ship to lie on. Had from the nets 500 fish and have set two nets more, which is seven in all as is now in the water. One Indian hunter brought me seventeen geese. Mr Thoyts came up this evening who tells me the pieces are all laid but not fastened for *Knight* frigate, because the tide puts them by their work.

*October 5, Friday.* Brave clear weather with a white frost, but was soon gone when the sun shined which shined bright and warm all the day. I ordered my gunsmith to get locks forged for me and screw-pins that he might be ready and have all things ready to stock some guns in the winter, but he told me he never made locks in all his life, but could mend a lock very well and had stocked some guns formerly. My other smith I shall daily employ a making ice chisels and scrapers. Mr Thoyts went down

<sup>1</sup> As suggested by the London Committee in its letter of May 1705: 'Wee would have you if you can to winter The *Knight* at The Launch, but be shure to Lay waies under her, that she may be cutt Loose, before the River breake up'. A.6/3, fo. 71. Finding a safe spot where a vessel could winter was always a problem at Albany, as at York. In 1705 Fullartine pointed out to the London Committee: 'And had it fell out that the *Knight* had wintered here, as you ordered, she would have been squeezed to pieces had she been the strongest ship in England. For when the creek broke up, the Great River never budged, so that the whole drift of the ice came this way and forced great cakes of ice upon the banks higher than I ever saw it before, and at the same time there was not water enough to have floated the long boat up to the head of the launch, so that there was no hauling her in before the ice by reason the water never rose which was a thing never seen by any Englishman before; so I think to winter the *Knight* upon Bayly Island, where I hope in God she will be safe, but this river breaks up so inconstantly that no man can tell'. H.B.R.S., XXV, 12. Beale had an additional reason for wintering the *Knight* at Bayly Island rather than at the factory, as he explained in his letter to the Committee of July 1706: 'I wintered the ship that belongs to the country at Bayley his Island, which place I take to be abundantly better and more safe than to winter her at the factory for it is not only the danger of her being squeezed to pieces at the breaking up of the river but the danger of the factory lying so near it. For when she is upon the launch it is a very easy matter for any man to come and put fire to her in spite of me, let me take all the care I can to prevent it'. *Ibid.*, 18.

<sup>2</sup> Ways, to help keep the vessel clear of the ice.



again this morning to finish the ways for the ship who returned about noon, and told me all was ready, and the afternoon being fair I ordered two boats to tow the *Knight* down. One of the boats came up again this evening. Had from the nets 700 fish, and I hope they will increase to more tomorrow.

*October 6, Saturday.* Uncertain weather sometimes clear and at other times overcast, the wind at NE and blew hard with flurries of snow, hail and rain mixed, and at other times the sun shined out bright and warm. I went to my nets in expectation of a good haul of fish. I had out of them 800 which is but a poor haul for seven nets, this being the chiefest time that we use to catch fish. I had one raft of wood from the woods today. Mr Thoyts and six men are still on board the ship. Had out of the garden about two bushels of turnips,<sup>1</sup> which was divided among the men every mess a part. I had from the hunters forty-three geese.

*October 7, Sunday.* Close weather, the wind NW and N and blew hard all the day and has looked as if it would have snowne but has not. I went to my nets and had out of them 1000 fish, I hope they will come plentiful for we have caught but few as yet. I had from my Indian hunters thirty-three geese. Mr Thoyts came up from the ship who tells me he has laid her on the ways, I sent him down again this evening to get some strands into her that she may lay fast, likewise to set some substantial pieces of

<sup>1</sup> This is the first of several references in the journal to gardening activities at Albany. Certainly since 1680 — when seeds were sent to Governor Nixon at Moose (*H.B.R.S.*, XI, 8) — the Company had been anxious to encourage the establishment of gardens at the Bayside posts. Fresh vegetables and herbs would ease the heavy bill for imported supplies, and for men heavily dependent on salted provisions would be of obvious medicinal value. Instructions for keeping a garden at Albany were sent to Governor James Knight by the London Committee in June 1693. Knight received 'Hemp & flax seeds with all sorts of Garden seeds & all sorts of Graine with directions how to sow & Cultivate them in a printed Booke' and also instructions on how to build a 'Cow house'. See *H.B.R.S.*, XX, 207–9. Knight had apparently established some sort of garden at Albany by 1694, for in May 1696 the London Committee acknowledged his letters of August and September 1694 and remarked 'Wee perceive your Care in provideing fodder for Cattle' and 'Your husbandry in gardning is verry satisfactory to us . . .'. Further seeds were also sent to Knight in 1696 including lettuce, turnip and radish seeds. *Ibid.*, 271–2. The invoice of goods shipped to Albany in 1702 lists 'a Box Conta. one Peck of Garden Beans, one Peck & halfe of Pease Two pound of Turnip, Readish & Colwort seed each half a lb Cabage & Lettice each a quarter of a pound, & halfe a lb Spineg Charvill, Garden Creases & Mary Golds each two ounces — Clary, & Sorrel each one ounce & four Quarts of Mustard Seed'. A.24/2, fo. 7. The invoice of goods sent to Albany in 1705 lists 'a Rundlett Conta. one bushell Mustard seed' and 'one box Gardeen seeds' (contents not given). *Ibid.*, fos. 10d., 11d. At the same time the London Committee wrote to Fullartine and the council at Albany: 'Wee have been Informed that your gardens doe not turne to that account as formerly, wee doe believe the Cheife Reason is for want of A Right understanding in the management of them, therefore wee Advise you to devide them in three parts, & then to lett one part Lye fallow, then dig it up Two or three times in the somer, & dung & mix it well with the mould, but be shure Lett your dung Lye in A heape & be well Rotted, you must also observe not to Sow Two yeare Together one sort of graine in one bed, but change them, & then noe question but yr Laboure will be Answered, & have now sent you the best garden seeds wee could gett'. A.6/3, fo. 70d. Among the men stationed at Albany was Edward Williams, 'Gardner'. A.15/5, fo. 137.

timber between the bank and the ship to keep her upon the ways, when floated by high tides. In the spring of the year shall cut these pieces down that she may swim to the bank in case she is pressed with ice and weather. A raft of wood which yesterday grounded on a bank of sand was brought home today.

*October 8, Monday.* Clear warm sunshine weather, the wind variable from SE in the morning to SSW in the afternoon. They sent from the ship her rudder and rudder irons.<sup>1</sup> My Indian hunters brought ten geese. The men have been employed bringing up the rafts of wood. Had from the nets 700 fish.

*October 9, Tuesday.* It continues fine warm weather the wind at SE a fresh gale all the forepart of the day, but towards the evening grew quite calm. Had from the Indian hunters forty-two geese, and from the nets 400 fish which is a small haul, and I pray God send them more plenty, but I believe the warm weather has put them much out of the river again. Mr Thoyt and his men came up from the ship this evening. Six men went to the woods.

*October 10, Wednesday.* Clear weather and has froze a little, the wind at WNW and blew hard all day. I have discharged my Indian hunters not being willing to keep them any longer, the geese being almost gone. Had from the nets 400 fish. Six men are gone to the woods to cut fire wood.

*October 11, Thursday.* Cold, raw weather and has fallen at least three inches of snow, the wind NE and has blown hard. I sent nineteen men to raft the wood which has been cut the last two days which will be all the wood we shall get home this year, but shall stick close to my fishing and tend the nets night and day for I never knew the fish scarce as now. Had out of the nets today 1000, which is short of the quantity use to be caught formerly, and I am very fearful of the river's freezing up at once because we have had so much warm weather and so little frost.

*October 12, Friday.* It continues much such weather as yesterday was, the wind NWbW and has blown hard. I went down to the ship to see how she lay and found the high tides and winds has set her something ahead and off her ways, for which I must send some hands down tomorrow to set her to rights again. Had out of the nets 2000 fish, and I wish they may hold so for a week or ten days, in which time shall get as many as will serve my occasion pretty well. The two rafts that was made yesterday

<sup>1</sup> Which effectively immobilized the sloop, as ordered by the London Committee: ' . . . If you winter her at Baley's Island, then bring her Ruder up into the fort & all her Small Rigging, & take her Ruder Irons of from the Sterne Post & her standing Masts & yards, & Ankor, Likewise bring on shore & secure them in the Factory'. A.6/3, fo. 71.



came home today. Fed the cattle with hay being so much snow that they can get nothing.<sup>1</sup>

*October 13, Saturday.* Clear weather, the wind at NW a fresh gale. I sent Mr Thoyts with six men down to lay the ship to rights. Had out of my nets but 600 fish which almost distracts me, for I have not half the quantity that we shall want to make out three fish days a week. The ice now drives in the creek. I am afraid I shall be forced to take up my nets tomorrow. Killed two young goats and two young lambs of this year's breed, and shall kill more daily for I can keep them now with the frost and spend them when I have the most occasion. Mr Thoyts came up this evening who has laid the ship to rights, and I hope she will do as well now as yet afore.

*October 14, Sunday.* It continues clear weather and froze hard last night, the wind at SW. I went to my nets and found them drove along shore and was forced to take them up for fear of losing them, the ice drives so thick in the creek already. Had out of them 200 fish. I went in the boat down to long Island<sup>2</sup> thinking to set my nets there, but found it impossible for the ice drives more there than in the creek. This evening if the water was calm I think to venture some nets one night more and sent my deputy<sup>3</sup> to set three of them in hopes of having a good haul in the morning.

*October 15, Monday.* Clear weather, the wind at SE and froze hard so that we was forced to break the ice with the poles for to get to the nets that was set yesterday, and took them up and had out of them 400 fish. I sent Mr Thoyts and four hands with him down to Bayley Island to see if the ship was safe, who returned and told me all things was well. The men have got up the two rafts that came home on Friday last. Killed three goats and three sheep of this year's breed.

*October 16, Tuesday.* Close, raining, thawing weather all the day so that the snow and ice is much wasted. I went up the creek in the boat and found a great deal of ice about the place where our nets usually stand, and finding of it shattered with rains and thaw I rowed and beat to and again

<sup>1</sup> 'Cattle' should be interpreted rather narrowly; the livestock at Albany probably consisted only of sheep and goats. There do not seem to have been any cows, bulls or oxen, though there was a 'cowhouse' (presumably built by Knight in 1693, see *H.B.R.S.*, XX, 207-9), and plans to send cattle out from England has been mentioned more than once. Fullartine had written disparagingly of his livestock in 1703: '... they are so prodigiously small, especially the goats, that there is many of them of a year old that I'm confident that there [are] several men in the factory could eat up one of them in a day'. *H.B.R.S.*, XXV, 12.

<sup>2</sup> Unidentified.

<sup>3</sup> Nathaniel Bishop, an experienced Company employee who had served the company since 1686, had twice been taken prisoner by the French, and after returning to England from Albany in 1703, went back to the post in 1705 to serve as deputy to Beale. He remained in the Company's employ until his death at Churchill in 1723. *H.B.R.S.*, XXV, 19n.; Hayne and Vachon, *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, II, 65.

among it to loosen it, so done it drove out with the tide. If it be fit for nets to be set I hope to have a good haul in the morning. I sent Mr Thoyts down again to the ship to take an anchor that lay at the stern of the ship to keep her from going ahead, but the ice was so much drove to that side being the lee shore so that they could not tie the ship with the boat. The wind at SE all the day.

*October 17, Wednesday.* Uncertain weather, sometimes clear and at other times overcast with squalls of rain and snow, the wind easterly. Had out of the nets 600 fish and I hope the weather will keep open for some time that we may catch some more fish. The men have been along shore to get drift wood to save the piles.

*October 18, Thursday.* Close snowy weather, the wind variable from WSW that it was in the morning to NW in the afternoon. Some of the men have been employed a pointing the cowhouse<sup>1</sup> and the rest getting drift wood along shore to save the piles. I fear there is not enough to last the winter. I have been twice at the nets today and had out of them 700 fish which is but a few. This is the worst season as ever I saw since we have made it our business to catch them. It has not froze all this day, but I am afraid it will freeze hard tonight and cause me to take up my nets in the morning.

*October 19, Friday.* It continues cross snowy weather and notwithstanding the wind has been at NW and blown hard all day, yet has not froze any thing at all to speak of. An Indian came in this morning and traded some small matter and went away this evening. The men have done but little today, only brought up the wood that came home yesterday. Had out of the nets 1400 fish.

*October 20, Saturday.* Close weather all the fore part of the day with little or no wind, but that as was at NW and has froze so hard that the creek is all over ice, insomuch that the carpenter and Richard Staunton<sup>2</sup> that set out in a canoe to go to the northward a trapping<sup>3</sup> was forced to

<sup>1</sup> To a modern reader this might suggest that part at least of the cowhouse was brick-built, but Dr Kenyon suggests that 'point' is being used here in the sense of 'caulk' or 'chink'. See also the entry for 29 June 1706, p. 62 *infra*.

<sup>2</sup> Richard Staunton was cooper at Albany, having been in the Company's service since 1694 and twice taken prisoner by the French. He had been stationed at Albany since 1698. For his later career, which included serving as Chief at Moose (from 1737) see *H.B.R.S.*, XXV, 23n., 114n., 235n.

<sup>3</sup> The first of many references to the men trapping for small furs, a subject of some contention in the preceding few years. The London Committee appreciated that to allow the men to trap furs on their own behalf was an incentive to keep them in the service at a difficult time; but knew that 'small furs' (marten especially) were much more in demand on the London market than beaver. In 1701 and 1702 a compromise arrangement had been reached which presumably still held good: if furs of the men's 'owne Catching' were handed into the post's warehouse by the end of February (before the main trading season began, that is), the Company would ship them home for sale with its own furs, and remit half of the sale price to the trappers. Otherwise, the furs would be held back from sale until the Company's furs had been sold. See *ibid.*, 11.

return again, not being able to get through the ice. Towards evening it cleared up and froze hard. I went to my nets to see if I could let them stand another night but the ice is so thick that we could hardly get the boat through it, so was forced to take them up and bring them home. Had out of them 1100 fish.

*October 21, Sunday.* Brave clear weather, the wind at NEN and blew a fresh gale. Froze hard withall the fore part of the day, but in the afternoon overcast as if it would have thawed but did not. We got our three boats up the bank. There is so much ice in the creek that we shall use them no more this winter. I wish with all my heart it may freeze hard that we may set our nets under the ice for I have but 14,500 fish in the factory as yet.

*October 22, Monday.* Clear warm sunshine weather, the wind at NW and has fallen a little snow. Last night it froze nothing at all to speak of but I am afraid we shall not be able to set our nets this three or four days, if it freezes no harder then it does at present. The men have been employed a pointing the dwelling house.<sup>1</sup> Killed ten lambs of this year's breed which are much larger and weighs considerable more then the goats, some of which did not exceed 8lbs if their skin and entrails were taken from them.

*October 23, Tuesday.* It continues clear weather, the wind at WbS and froze pretty hard. The creek is froze up with ice, but there is a great many open places among it, so there is no venturing upon it till them places are frozen up. The men have been employed as yesterday.

*October 24, Wednesday.* Cross warm snowy weather, the wind variable from the SE that it was in the morning to the WNW that it was in the afternoon. It has not froze at all but rather thawed, of the two I would have willingly set my nets today but the ice is not thick enough to venture the men upon it, therefore I must defer it till I can venture them with safety. Killed six sheep and four goats.

*October 25, Thursday.* Close weather till about 10 a Clock, and has fallen about an inch of snow last night but since clear weather and has froze hard. The wind at SW and a moderate gale. I sent my deputy with men to try if they could set the nets, they finding the ice in a different form set three, though the ice in some places did not exceed an inch thick, and in some places hove up in heaps and a great deal shattered under the upper, so that we could scarce pass our nets in some places, and I am fearful it will spoil our fishing. Killed twelve goats more, which is all I

<sup>1</sup> Although Albany was in the main a wooden fort, 9,800 bricks had been shipped out in 1684 when rebuilding work was in progress. See Kenyon, "'Old House"' at Albany' in *The Beaver*, Winter 1973, p.48. In correspondence with the General Editor, Dr Kenyon explains that the bricks were used only for fire-places, ovens, forges and the like, and that the fort itself was built of horizontal logs.



shall kill this fall. Have kept alive eleven she goats and a ram, thirty ewes and one ram, the shes I have saved were all the best breeders.

*October 26, Friday.* The wind and weather as yesterday. Had out of the three nets that was set yesterday 500 fish. I had another net set today which makes four in all now in the water. I went down as far as long Island and two men with men to seek for partridges but did not see any. The great river<sup>1</sup> drives full of ice, and the ship at that distance seemingly lay well.

*October 27, Saturday.* Clear weather and froze hard all the day, the wind at SW a fine moderate gale. I ordered four puncheons to be filled with water, three of which is to stand in the great house, one in each storey,<sup>2</sup> the fourth is to stand in my house. These casks shall always be kept full for the safety of ourselves and Factory for fear of fire, which God forbid and I shall take all the care I can to prevent any such accident.<sup>3</sup> Had out of the nets 500 fish. One of the nets was much broke with the shattered ice that drives under the upper.

*October 28, Sunday.* Uncertain weather, the wind variable from the NW that it was in the morning to the NE that it was in the afternoon. Four Indians came in from down the river who tells me it is very hard with them by reason the snow fell on the ground before there was any frost, which kept the ground still open so that they are not able to travel the woods and swamps to get their livelihood. I made them answer that it was very hard with me that the fish had been very scarce in the river and that we had caught so few that my men lived on three fish a man for a whole day. I was not willing any of them should come in hungry upon the Factory, if I could possibly avoid it. Had out of the nets 400 fish.

*October 29, Monday.* Close warm weather with a small breeze of wind northerly. The Indians that came yesterday went away this morning. I sent my deputy and Mr Thoyts into the woods to look out a tree that was fit to make planks and boards, for I shall want them to make chests to put the beaver in and for several other occasions in and about the Factory. Had out of the nets 250 fish.

*October 30, Tuesday.* Continues the weather and wind as yesterday. I went to my nets this morning and had of them but a very small haul seventy fish. I sent Mr Thoyts and four hands into the woods to fell the

<sup>1</sup> The Albany River, that is.

<sup>2</sup> A rather surprising reference, which seems to indicate that part at least of the fort had three storeys (the third one possibly an attic, Dr Kenyon suggests). By the 'great house' Beale was referring to the servants' quarters.

<sup>3</sup> An entry inserted no doubt for the benefit of the London Committee, which had written in its letter of May 1705: 'Wee Likewise order you to Keepe A good wach, & alwaies be provided with water in your factory, both winter & somer, Least an accident should happen by fier, which pray God to Keepe you from.' A.6/3, fo. 70.



trees that were to be sawn in boards and planks. I ordered my men into eight divisions and shall keep a constant watch night and day throughout the winter.

*October 31, Wednesday.* Brave, clear, freezing weather, the wind at SW the fore part of the day, in the afternoon it came NW and blew a pretty fresh gale. Two men went to lie out on the river a trapping. Four men went to the woods to fall and square timber. Had out of nets forty fish and I believe we shall catch no more under the ice this season, which shows there is but little trusting to any thing in this country.

*November 1, Friday.* Close weather and has fallen a little snow, the wind variable from SW in the morning to the NWbN that it was in the afternoon. I went out with nine men to the woods. Some of them I employed in falling and squaring, and then about digging a saw pit, for I think it is better to saw it there then to bring it home whole, the pieces being very large.

*November 2, Friday.* Continues close warm weather, the wind northerly and has blown a fresh gale. Ten men have been in the woods again today, who has made an end of falling and squaring of timber. One man went out a hunting who returned and did not see anything. He endeavoured to cross the river to Bayley Island, but could not because it is not yet froze over. Had out of my nets sixty fish.

*November 3, Saturday.* Close warm weather all the fore part of the day, in the afternoon it cleared up, the wind SW and blew a fresh gale. I sent four men to the woods to cut off the pieces that that may be ready to carry to the saw pit. Had from the nets thirty fish.

*November 4, Sunday.* Clear weather and warm, the wind about WSW a moderate gale. Had out of my nets thirty-five fish. I took one of my nets up today but set it again in the evening, for I shall endeavour to catch fish as long as they be in the river.

*November 5, Monday.* Brave clear sunshiny weather, the wind southerly. I sent my deputy and twenty men to the woods to carry the pieces of timber to the saw pits. When they returned we made a burnfire and drank the Queen's health, wishing her victory over all our enemies.<sup>1</sup> Had from the nets forty-six fish.

*November 6, Tuesday.* Close snowy weather, the wind variable from SW in the morning to the NW in the afternoon. Had out of my nets thirty-five fish.

*November 7, Wednesday.* It continues close weather, the wind at SW blew a fine moderate gale. Had out of my nets nine fish and if I have no better luck tomorrow I shall take them up, it not being worth while to

<sup>1</sup> The occasion was, of course, Guy Fawkes Day.

keep them longer in the water, the nets receiving more damage then the fish counters.

*November 8, Thursday.* Close weather all the fore part of the day, the wind EbS and blew a fresh gale, but towards the evening it varied about to NE blew hard and looked dirty. Had out of the nets sixty fish which was more than I did expect, therefore I shall keep the nets in the water.

*November 9, Friday.* Close weather and has fallen about one inch of snow, the wind at ENE and blew a fresh gale till about noon but then it blew gently. I had two hands out a hunting who killed two partridges and one rabbit. They did not see above twenty in all that were wild, and could not follow them because in some places it is boggy, and the ground is not froze underneath the snow. One hand was over at Baylie's Island who crossed the river about Popler point, it not being froze lower down. He tells me the ship lies well and has not moved since our men left her. Two men went to lie out a trapping to the southward. Had out of my nets thirty-six fish.

*November 10, Saturday.* It continues clear warm weather, the wind SW and blew a moderate gale. The men have been to fetch hay from the back of the island and brought it on their backs for want of snow to draw the sled. Had out of the nets thirty-nine fish.

*November 11, Sunday.* Clear weather and froze a little which is more then has been this three or four days. The two men that has laid out a trapping at Tippewagegon<sup>1</sup> ever since the last of October came home today, but such has been their hard luck that they have caught but one marten in the whole time they have been gone. Had out of the nets thirty-four fish.

*November 12, Monday.* It continues clear weather, the wind at NbN and froze pretty smartly. I had four men out a hunting today who killed twelve partridges and one rabbit. Had from the nets fifty fish.

*November 13, Tuesday.* Close blustering weather the wind easterly. Ten men have been to fetch hay for the cattle and brings it still on their backs, there not being enough snow on the ground to draw the sled upon. Two men are gone to lie out a trapping to the northward to whom I have given a fourteennights allowance of provisions for that purpose. Had out of the nets thirty-six fish.

*November 14, Wednesday.* Close blustering weather the fore part of the day, the wind at NE but towards evening it cleared up, and was fine weather. The two men that came home from their traps on Sunday last went away again today. Had out of the nets eighteen fish. I am afraid I shall catch not many more this winter.

<sup>1</sup> Mentioned several times by Beale, but not identified.

*November 15, Thursday.* Uncertain weather sometimes clear and at other times overcast, the wind northerly and blew a fresh gale. An Indian came from the south and traded some small matter, and went away again. This evening I sent a man to the head of Bayley's Island to see whether the ice was smooth or rugged, for I design to send some hands there to see if they can catch mice.<sup>1</sup> Had out of the nets sixty fish.

*November 16, Friday.* Brave clear weather, the wind at ENE and blew a moderate gale. Two Indians came in from down the river to trade. I had six men a hunting who killed twelve partridges and a rabbit.

*November 17, Saturday.* Close weather, the wind SW for the fore part of the day, about noon it came about to NW, and snowed a little, then cleared up, and is the coldest day that we have had this winter. The two Indians that came in yesterday went away again this morning. I had a sled of hay brought home to day from the back of the island. From the nets I had 100 fish which is a brave haul and I hope will continue for I want a great many to make three days a week for my men.

*November 18, Sunday.* Clear weather and a pretty sharp wind at SWbW, a fine easy gale all the morning but in the afternoon it blew hard and drifted. Had out of the nets forty fish.

*November 19, Monday.* Continues clear weather the wind westerly and blew hard. My deputy and another hand went to lie out a trapping and hunting withall to the northward. Had from the nets seventeen fish.

*November 20, Tuesday.* The wind and weather as yesterday. I sent three men out a hunting who killed four partridges which are very scarce this year. Two Indians came in from Muse River<sup>2</sup> to trade. Had from the nets sixty fish. I had five snares set today to catch rabbits.

*November 21, Wednesday.* Clear sharp weather the wind variable from SW in the morning to NW in the afternoon, the two Indians that came yesterday went away this morning. Five men went out a hunting who killed three partridges and one pheasant. I sent two men to lie out a fishing at the head of Bayleys Island. I had from the snares one rabbit and from the nets forty fish.

*November 22, Thursday.* Brave clear sunshiny weather and very warm considering the time of year, which indeed we have had all this winter hitherto and there is now not above half an inch of snow on the ground, and I think I hardly ever saw so little on the ground at this time of the year since I have been in the country. The wind at SW and a moderate gale all day. Two Indians came from the south to trade. Had from the nets thirty fish.

<sup>1</sup> Neither mice nor moose, but methy. See p. 26, n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Moose River, about sixty miles to the south.



*November 23, Friday.* Close warm weather, the wind at south. The two Indians that came in yesterday went away today. I had three men out a hunting who killed fifteen partridges. I had one rabbit from the snares and I had from the nets twenty-three fish. Today I took the nets up.

*November 24, Saturday.* The wind and weather as yesterday. The men have been to bring a sled of hay from the back of the island. Had from the nets forty fish.

*November 25, Sunday.* Close snowy weather, the wind easterly and blew fresh. One of the men that I sent to catch motheey<sup>1</sup> at the head of Baylys Island on the 21 instant came and brought two small moutheey, which is all they have caught since they first went out. Set two nets again today.

*November 26, Monday.* Clear weather and indifferent sharp, the wind at NW and blew fresh. I sent four men a hunting who killed twelve partridges. I had from the snares one rabbit. The man that came from the fishing holes at the head of Baylys Island yesterday, went there again. I ordered him if they have no better fishing to come away for it is not worth while to keep them there longer. Thomas Routen<sup>2</sup> came home from his traps who has lain ever since the 14th instant. He tells me they have caught but five martens but is in hopes of better luck for the tracks are thicker now then they have been. Had from the nets thirty fish.

*November 27, Tuesday.* Close weather the wind at NW and blew fresh. Simon Simpson<sup>3</sup> came home from his traps who has been out ever since the 9th instant, and has caught but five martens all the time. The two men that lay at the head of Baylys Island a fishing came home today. I had from the nets twenty fish.

*November 28, Wednesday.* Brave clear weather, the wind variable from the NW to the SW. Thomas Routen who came home on Monday last from his traps went to them again. I sent five men to the woods to cut fire wood, and to set it up in a pile. Four men went a hunting who killed three pheasants and three partridges. I had out of the nets ten fish.

*November 29, Thursday.* Continues brave clear weather, the wind at

<sup>1</sup> Methy, or burbot, *Lota lota maculosa* (Le Sueur). Isham wrote that they 'are a fish Resembles an Eal in taste, they are muddy fish and skin's — the Same as an Eal, but of a Different shape, these are plenty, they are fine Eating in a pye with pork &c.' *H.B.R.S.*, XII, 169. Graham gives a longer, more precise description, and adds: 'The Mathy is insipid, dry eating but the roes and livers are rancid and oily, although kept froze solid all the time . . . are so little regarded by the English that when served out to the Company's servants (which is sometimes the case) causes grumblings and discontents.' *H.B.R.S.*, XXVII, 120-1.

<sup>2</sup> Thomas Routen (Rowten, Rowton) entered the Company's service in 1702. He was employed as a smith at Albany at £40 per annum. *H.B.R.S.*, XXV, 16n.; also A.14/6, fos. 170, 243; A.15/5, fo. 90.

<sup>3</sup> Simon Simpson was formerly a seaman on the *Hudson's Bay*, who was engaged to serve at Albany by Fullartine and the council in 1701 (*H.B.R.S.*, XXV, 13n.). In 1705 he was described as a boatswain employed at £39 per annum. (*Ibid.*, 16n.).



NW and blew a moderate gale. Simon Simpson who came home from his traps on Tuesday last, returned to them again. Six men have been to cut fire wood. I had from the nets seven fish.

*November 30, Friday.* Close weather, the wind at SW and blew a moderate gale till about 12 a Clock, then it blew hard and drifted the remaining part of the day. My deputy and the other hand that went with him came home, who has been out ever since the 19th instant. Brought home with them fifty-two partridges and eighteen martens which they caught in their traps. Six men had been in the woods for fire wood. I had from the nets seventeen fish.

*December 1, Saturday.* Close warm weather, the wind westerly and blew a fine easy gale. The men are gone to the woods to set the wood that is cut up in a pile that I may have it in readiness when I shall have occasion for it. Richard Staunton came home from his traps who has been out ever since the thirteenth day of the last month and has caught forty martens. I had from the nets twenty-six fish. The Act of Parliament against piracy was in the Factory publicly read.

*December 2, Sunday.* Continues close weather, the wind at SW and blew a moderate gale. I had from the nets fifteen fish.

*December 3, Monday.* Brave clear sunshiny weather, the wind at NE and blew an easy gale. I sent three men a hunting who killed thirty-three partridges. I went with two men to the woods and have set them to work a sawing those pieces that was fallen and squared for that purpose. Six men more have been in the woods a cutting fire wood. I had from the nets eight fish, therefore I design to take them up tomorrow if we have no better luck.

*December 4, Tuesday.* Close snowy weather, the wind at SW all the fore part of the day but in the afternoon it varied about to NW and blew fresh and was clear weather. The men has been a fetching a sled of hay from the back side the island. I had out of my nets five suckling fish and one tickomegg which is so few that I have taken the nets up, not being worth while to keep them in the water.

*December 5, Wednesday.* Brave clear weather, the wind at SW and blew pretty fresh till the evening and then it was quite calm. I sent five men a hunting who killed eighty-seven partridges, and five men to cut fire wood and to saw boards. Thomas Routen came home from his traps who has got some hurt in one of his hands by a trap falling on it.

*December 6, Thursday.* Clear warm weather, the wind westerly and blew a moderate gale all day. I sent seven men a hunting who killed seventy-six partridges. I sent nine men to the woods to set the wood that is cut up to the pile. The sawyers are at work.

*December 7, Friday.* Close weather, the wind at SE and blew pretty

fresh all the fore part of the day, in the afternoon the wind was more southerly and blew and snowed very thick the remaining part of the day. I had five men a hunting who was forced to return sooner then they would by reason of the weather, however they brought home twenty-four partridges. Five men has been employed in the woods as usual and the two sawyers at their work.

*December 8, Saturday.* Continues close weather, the wind NW and blew fresh till about 12 a clock and then it grew quite calm. I sent nine men to the woods to set the wood that is cut up to the pile and sent the sawyers to their work.

*December 9, Sunday.* Brave, clear, warm weather, the wind at SW and blew a fine moderate gale all the day.

*December 10, Monday.* Close snowy weather, in the morning the wind at N but in the afternoon NbN clear weather and sharp. Three men went out a hunting and killed six partridges, the men have been employed a cutting wood for the stoves here at home, only the sawyers who has been employed as before.

*December 11, Tuesday.* Close weather and pretty cold, the wind at SE and blew a fresh gale. I sent three men a hunting today, and such was their hard luck to kill nothing, and saw but few and them were wild. One hand is gone to my deputy his traps to the northward to clear and bring the martens out of them if there be any.

*December 12, Wednesday.* Uncertain weather, sometimes clear and at other times overcast, the wind easterly and blew fresh. Thomas Archard came home from his traps at Tippowageggon River and brought home with him four partridges and two pheasants and ten martens, which is all they have caught since the last of October when they went first out a trapping. William Stuart came home from his traps at Nitishsha<sup>1</sup> to the southward but he made but a very sorry haul of martens, he brought home twenty-five partridges. I sent four men a hunting today who killed eighteen partridges and two pheasants. The sawyers has been at work today. I sent four men with them to help get some pieces on the pit, and to bring some boards home, them which are already sawn.

*December 13, Thursday.* Close warm weather and fell last night about two inches of snow. The wind westerly and blew hard and drifted till about noon then it varied to the NW. Has been little wind the remaining part of the day. I had a sled of hay brought to the Factory from the back of the island. My deputy went to set some traps in the plains. The sawyers has been at their usual employ.

<sup>1</sup> Marked on Hearne's map of 1774 as Nattatisha Bluff about twelve miles south-east from the factory.

*December 14, Friday.* Blustering, blowing, snowing weather, the wind at NW. The most winter-like day we have had yet. The man that went to my deputy's traps on Tuesday last came home and brought nine marten with him.

*December 15, Saturday.* Continues clear cold weather, the wind at WbN and blew hard and drifted, and I believe we shall have some cold weather for we have had but little this winter.

*December 16, Sunday.* Clear weather and pretty sharp till about 12 a clock, the wind at SW and blew fresh but in the afternoon it was overcast and cloudy and looked as if we should have snow.

*December 17, Monday.* Close, blowing, snowing weather, the wind at NE all day. The men have been employed a sawing wood for the stoves. Only one man that was a hunting, he saw but very few fowls which were very shy so that he could not come nigh them.

*December 18, Tuesday.* The weather much as yesterday, the wind at NNE. The men has been employed as before, the two sawyers has been at work and shall be constantly when the weather will permit till such time that they have made an end of their work.

*December 19, Wednesday.* Close weather, the wind at NW and blew fresh all the day. I have had a sled of hay brought home today from the back of the island. My deputy went to his traps in the plains and brought home two martens. Charles Cronell<sup>1</sup> went to the northward to my deputy's traps to whom I have given liberty for three nights to clear them.

*December 20, Thursday.* Close weather and indifferent cold, the wind between W and SW and blew all day long. I sent six men a hunting who killed eleven partridges and one pheasant. Mr Staunton and Mr Thoyts came home from their traps at Natisha to the northward and brought with them fifty-nine marten, which is all they have caught since the thirteenth day of November when they went first out.

*December 21, Friday.* Clear weather, the wind SW and blew pretty sharp. Simon Simpson and Will Stuart<sup>2</sup> came home from their traps and

<sup>1</sup> Charles Cronell (Cronnel, Cronnell) joined the Company in 1696 and had been at Albany since 1698. In May 1705 the London Committee warned that he and another servant, 'have almost Every yeare over drawne theire wages, therefore wee would have you verry Cautious how you signe theire Bills for the future for they must not Expect wee shall pay them when over drawne'. A.6/3, fo. 69d. With only three breaks of a year in England he served as a labourer at Albany until 1742 when, 'old and Decreped' he finally retired. *H.B.R.S.*, XXV, 31n.

<sup>2</sup> William Stuart (Stewart) joined the Company in 1691 as an apprentice, probably aged about thirteen years. He served at Albany from the time of its recapture from the French in 1693 until 1708 when he returned to England. At this time he was receiving £20 per annum plus an allowance of brandy and sugar. His later career was marked by an important if obscure journey of exploration in 1715-16 north-west from York Factory to Chipewyan territory and the vicinity of Great Slave Lake. See *H.B.R.S.*, XXV, 413-17; Hayne and Vachon, *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, II, 614-16.



brought nine martens which they caught since the ninth of December when they went first out from the Factory.

*December 22, Saturday.* Continues clear weather but not cold considering the season, the wind variable from SW that it was in the morning to NW in the afternoon. The men have been employed a cutting wood for the stoves. The man that went to my deputy's traps the 19th instant came home today.

*December 23, Sunday.* Clear sharp weather, the wind at NW and blew fresh all the day.

*December 24, Monday.* Much such weather as yesterday, of the two I think this is the coldest day notwithstanding the wind has been SW and S all day.

*December 25, Tuesday.* It continues clear cold weather the wind as yesterday. According to custom we solemnized this day being Christmas, and as used to do I hung out the Great Flag<sup>1</sup> and gave the people larger allowance then at other times. I gave to each mess as followeth. Viz 20lb of flour, 2lb of bacon, 8 pints of oatmeal, 2 pints of rice, 2lb of raisons,  $\frac{1}{2}$ lb of currants, 8lb of mutton, 3 fresh whavers<sup>2</sup> and 2 salt, 1 piece of salt beef, 12 partridges, 4lb of biscuit bread, 2lb of cheese,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  of butter, 3lb of suet and 60 fish.

*December 26, Wednesday.* Clear moderate weather, the wind at SWbW. This evening after the gates were shut up Thomas Micklish<sup>3</sup> and one more knocked at the gate who came from Gilpins Island. He tells me they have had but a very bad passage from thence and thought they should have been forced to venture on Charaltons Island<sup>4</sup>, and that fish and fowl were very scarce so that they were forced to spend all their English provisions.

*December 27, Thursday.* Close warm weather, the wind at SW and blew a moderate gale and looks as if there would fall some snow.

*December 28, Friday.* It continues close warm weather, the wind at

<sup>1</sup> Almost certainly the 'Union Flag' listed among the Albany stores (see p. 73), now known as the Union Jack, though its technically correct name is the 'Great Union'. At this time, and until the legislative union with Ireland in 1801, the flag retained the appearance it was given on the union of the crowns of England and Scotland in James I's reign: 'the red cross commonly called St George's cross, and the white cross commonly called St Andrew's cross, joined together . . .'. *Encyclopaedia Britannica*.

<sup>2</sup> Waveys, Graham's Cathcatew Whewe or Blue Goose, in fact a colour phase of the Lesser Snow Goose, *Chen caerulescens caerulescens* (Linnaeus), of which Graham wrote, 'There are very few of them visit the coast to the northward of fifty-five degrees, but are very numerous down the Bay at Albany Fort . . . Great numbers of this blue species are killed and stored up for food at the southern settlements'. *H.B.R.S.*, XXVII, 43n., 44, 44n.

<sup>3</sup> Thomas McCliesh (Macklish), junior, joined the Company in 1698, and had served in James Bay since that date. In 1715 he was to become Chief at Albany, and in 1722 succeeded Henry Kelsey at York as Governor-in-chief in the Bay. He finally retired in 1737. See *H.B.R.S.*, XXV, *passim*.

<sup>4</sup> Charlton Island, off the East Main, about one hundred miles distant from Albany.



NW a small breeze till about noon, then it varied to the SW and was something clearer then the fore part of the day.

*December 29, Saturday.* Brave, clear, sunshiny weather, the wind variable from NW in the morning to SW in the afternoon. The men has been to fetch hay from the back of the island.

*December 30, Sunday.* Brave, clear weather, the wind westerly and blew a small breeze all day.

*December 31, Monday.* Clear weather and pretty sharp in the morning, but in the afternoon it was overcast and cloudy the wind SW all day.

*January 1, 1706, Tuesday.* Brave, clear weather, the wind westerly in the morning, but in the afternoon it was SW and blew a moderate gale.

*January 2, Wednesday.* It continues clear, sunshiny weather, the wind at SW and a fine moderate gale. I sent three men a hunting who killed six partridges, and they saw but few more and they was very shy.

*January 3, Thursday.* Clear weather and pretty sharp, the wind variable from the NW to the N and NE. It blew hard and drifted.

*January 4, Friday.* It continues clear weather and pretty sharp, the wind at the SW in the morning and S in the afternoon, and has blown fresh all the day.

*January 5, Saturday.* Close weather and cold in the morning but since moderate. The wind S all the day and blew fresh this evening here fell a little snow.

*January 6, Sunday.* Close warm snowy weather till about noon, when it cleared up and the sun shined for some time, the wind at NW. Towards the evening it was overcast and fell more snow.

*January 7, Monday.* Pretty clear weather the fore part of the day, the wind at NW, in the afternoon it blew hard and drifted. Thomas Micklish and the man that came with him set out again for Gilpins Island. I sent nine men out a hunting who killed fourteen partridges.

*January 8, Tuesday.* Clear sharp weather, the wind about NNW and blew a fresh gale. I sent one man a hunting who killed three partridges. I had a sled of hay brought home from the back of the island. The two sawyers has been at work and I design to keep them to it when the weather will permit.

*January 9, Wednesday.* It continues clear sunshiny weather, the wind at SW till 12 a clock, since it has been overcast and has looked as if it would have snowed but has not. A man went to my deputy's traps to the north to whom I have given liberty for three days. Two hands more are gone to their traps at Tippowagegon to clear them and bring the martens out of them if there be any. I sent two hands down to the ship to haul some shore fasts taut that they may not freeze to the ice.

*January 10, Thursday.* Close weather the fore part of the day, the wind at SW and blew a moderate gale, in the afternoon it came to NW and blew and drifted the remaining part of the day. I sent nine men out a hunting who killed thirty-eight partridges. I sent four hands up the River to help the sawyers to get some pieces on the saw pit.

*January 11, Friday.* Brave, clear, sunshiny weather, the wind W and blew a fine easy gale all day. I sent six men out a hunting who killed thirty partridges. Caught one rabbit in the snares today.

*January 12, Saturday.* Close warm weather and fell last night about an inch of snow, the wind variable from the SW in the morning to the NW in the afternoon. Towards evening it snowed and drifted that a man could hardly see one hundred yards. I sent five men out a hunting who killed thirty-three partridges. The man that went to my deputy's traps came home and brought two martens and eleven partridges. I had a sled of hay brought home from the back of the island, which was taken from a new rick. I have spent two ricks this winter but I have two more whole besides that as was broke today.

*January 13, Sunday.* Clear, sunshiny weather, the wind variable from the NW in the morning to ESE in the afternoon. An Indian came in from the southward who brings me bad news of two families of the southward Indians<sup>1</sup> that they are very poor and a coming to lie on the Factory. They was so very poor that they ate all their dogs. He likewise tells me that they are a great way off, therefore I must sent a man to carry some fish and oatmeal to them, or else they will perish.

*January 14, Monday.* Blustering, snowing weather, the wind easterly all day long.

*January 15, Tuesday.* Close, thawing, rainy weather, thawing to that degree that the houses run with water, the wind S but varied about in the afternoon to the NW and then froze hard. I went with the carpenter and another hand to look some pieces that would make a sled, for the old ones are worn out. I had six men a hunting who killed eight partridges. I sent the Indian and a man with him to meet the rest of the Indians.

*January 16, Wednesday.* Clear sharp weather and has blown a fresh gale at NW all the day, but at evening it varied to SW. I sent six men a hunting who killed two partridges. Three men went to haul them pieces home that was cut yesterday to make a sled.

*January 17, Thursday.* Close weather and has snowed very thick the fore part of the day, the wind at SW but in the afternoon varied about to the NW and blew hard and drifted the remaining part of the day. The two men that went to their traps at Tippewaygon the 9th instant came

<sup>1</sup> Cree.

home and brought three martens and a quequehath.<sup>1</sup> The Southard Indians that I mentioned before came this evening and are in a poor condition.

*January 18, Friday.* Clear, sharp, cold weather, the wind westerly and has blown pretty fresh all day long. I sent one a hunting who killed four rabbits and four partridges.

*January 19, Saturday.* Continues clear and pretty sharp weather the fore part of the day but in the afternoon towards the evening it was overcast and fell some snow, the wind SE and SEbE and blew fresh. Three men went with the sawyers to the woods to help them get some pieces on the pit. The rest of the men were employed to fetch a sled of hay for the cattle from the back of the island.

*January 20, Sunday.* Close warm weather and every now and then it snowed, the wind variable from the SW in the morning to the NNW in the afternoon.

*January 21, Monday.* Brave, clear, sunshiny weather, the wind N all day. I sent seven men a hunting who killed twenty-three partridges and two rabbits. One of the Indians went out a hunting and saw two deer but could not come nigh them, the snow making so much noise with a persons walking on it (by reason of the thaw that we had on the fifteenth instant) which the beasts hearing put them to the run.

*January 22, Tuesday.* It continues brave, clear weather, the wind at ESE and has blown pretty fresh all day. I had a gun set because there is a pretty many foxes about that will not take any of the traps.

*January 23, Wednesday.* Close weather and has looked as if it would have snowed but has not, the wind N and a fine moderate gale. I had a net set to try for some jack.<sup>2</sup>

*January 24, Thursday.* Clear sharp cold weather, the wind NW variable to the north and blew fresh all day till evening, and then it grew quite calm and fair weather. Had out of the nets that was set yesterday in the lake only two small pitiful jacks.

*January 25, Friday.* Clear weather but not at all considering the season of the year, the wind southerly and blew fresh all day. I had out of the nets in the lake three small jacks.

*January 26, Saturday.* Close weather in the morning and looked as if

<sup>1</sup> Wolverine. Graham has a good description of the wolverine, with a note that 'the fur is very coarse yet of great value, being usually sold for eighteen shillings or a guinea'. *H.B.R.S.*, XXVII, 20.

<sup>2</sup> Pike. Again, to quote Graham: 'They frequent the lakes, rivers and creeks; are caught both with nets, hooks, and spearing them at the cataracts. They are esteemed good eating, and weigh about twelve pounds at farthest . . . They are very numerous and are much valued by the Lake Indians, as they are a supply for them at all seasons, when their gun and ammunition fails, or other food fails. Great numbers are caught at the forts and are reckoned excellent food by us'. *Ibid.*, 118-19.



it would have snowed, the wind at SW and blew fresh, in the afternoon it was fine weather. I had a sled of hay brought from the back of the island. I had out of the nets in the lake but one small fish, I therefore have taken it up for it is not worth while to keep it in the water any longer. Here came a southward Indian from the northward and brought nothing at all with him but nine small skins which he traded for tobacco. He tells me he left his family behind him which is three women and four children; in three days he told me they had not ate any thing for three days before he parted with them so they must needs be in a poor condition. I shall be forced to send away one hand or more with some victuals if they be alive.

*January 27, Sunday.* Clear sharp weather, the wind at NW and blew a fresh gale, in the afternoon it came to west. I sent a man away with some fish and oatmeal to relieve those southward Indians that are coming from the northward. I would not suffer any of them to perish if I could possibly help it.

*January 28, Monday.* It continues clear weather, the wind W and blew a fresh gale. A man went a hunting who killed three pheasants.

*January 29, Tuesday.* Fine sunshiny weather, the wind at SW all day and blew a moderate gale. The men have been employed a hauling boards and planks of the saw pit. Richard Staunton went into the plains to set some traps up and brought home one marten and two partridges. Charles Cronell went to the northward to my deputy's traps to whom I have given liberty for three nights to clear them.

*January 30, Wednesday.* Close, snowy weather, the wind at SW and a moderate gale till about 12 a clock and then it varied about to NW and blew and drifted all the afternoon. The man that I sent to meet the southward family of Monday last which are coming from the northward came in today, and the Indian with him. The men have been employed as before. One hand is gone to his traps at Tippowayegon River, to whom I have given liberty to lie out for three nights.

*January 31, Thursday.* Brave, clear, sunshiny weather, the wind variable from the SW in the morning EbN in the afternoon. The men have been for boards and planks.

*February 1, Friday.* Close weather and fell some snow in the morning, the wind was SW till about noon then varied about to NW, and was clear weather blowing fresh the remaining part of the day. I sent two Indian men, one woman and a child which are part of the families that came from the southward almost starved on the seventeenth day of January last, they being pretty well recovered, and I have so many of them lying on the Factory that they destroy me a great deal of provisions. Therefore I have sent them that are youngest away, and to assist them I have given them



sixty fish and four quarts of oatmeal to put them forward till they get where they may be able to provide for themselves. The Act of Parliament was read today in the Factory.

*February 2, Saturday.* Clear, sunshiny weather, the wind at SW and a moderate gale all day. I sent seven men a hunting who killed thirty-five partridges and five rabbits. In the evening it was overcast and snowed very thick.

*February 3, Sunday.* Close, snowy weather, the wind at SE till about noon when it varied about to NW and snowed and drifted so that a person could hardly see across the creek. The man that went to his traps at Tip-pow-eg-on on Wednesday last came home today and brought eight partridges but did not bring any martens.

*February 4, Monday.* It continues close weather, the wind N and blew sharp and cold. The southward family of Indians which came the twenty-sixth of January from the northward I have given them some fish and oatmeal and sent them up the river a rabbit hunting, for lying here they get nothing but wholly depend on the Factory. I sent six men a hunting who killed five rabbits and thirteen partridges. Here fell some snow this evening.

*February 5, Tuesday.* Uncertain weather, sometimes clear and at other times overcast and looked as if it would have snowed. The wind variable all round the compass. One hand went to his traps in the plains and brought home one marten. The men has done but little only cut wood for the stoves.

*February 6, Wednesday.* Close warm weather, the wind S and blew a moderate gale all the morning but in the afternoon it blew hard and drifted. Three Indians came in from down the river who traded and went away again this evening. I had a sled of hay brought home from the back of the island.

*February 7, Thursday.* Clear, sunshiny weather and warm considering the season of the year, the wind at SW all the morning, in the afternoon it varied to WNW and was overcast and snowed thick. I had six men a hunting who killed forty-two partridges.

*February 8, Friday.* Blustering, windy, snowing weather, the wind at NNW and was so very thick with the snow that fell and the drift together that one could see but very little way.

*February 9, Saturday.* Clear in the morning, the wind at NW and blew fresh till about 11 a clock, and then it varied to NE and snowed the remaining part of the day. One hand went a hunting who killed five rabbits and two partridges.

*February 10, Sunday.* Much such a day as yesterday. Clear in the

morning but snowed in the afternoon, the wind has been SSE and SE all day.

*February 11, Monday.* Clear weather, the wind at SE till about noon, then it varied about to NbW and blew pretty fresh and snowed withall and so continued the remaining part of the day. I had seven men out a hunting who killed forty partridges and two rabbits.

*February 12, Tuesday.* Clear weather in the morning, the wind at NW, but in the afternoon shifted to NE and was blowing, snowing, drifting weather. I had one hand out a hunting who killed six partridges and a wolf which he shot at yesterday and wounded and found dead today and brought home with him.

*February 13, Wednesday.* Close weather and every now and then snowed, the wind variable from NW in the morning to SE in the afternoon. I had six men out a hunting who killed thirty-four partridges and two rabbits. Two Indian women that belong to the southward Indians family who went away the 4th instant came here who tells me that they have not killed anything since they went from the Factory, so I must give them victuals both for themselves and the rest which are behind. Two goats kidded today and four kids, whereof two are hes and two shes.

*February 14, Thursday.* Blustering cold weather, the wind at WNW. One ewe and one ram lamb today. One hand is gone to my deputy his traps to the northward to bring the martens out of them if there be any. The two smiths are daily kept at work, the one a stocking of guns and the other a making of hatchets for trade.

*February 15, Friday.* It continues clear weather, the wind varied from the SWbW in the morning to SE that it was in the afternoon. The men have been employed a hauling of boards to the Factory. I had one hand a hunting who killed ten partridges. The two Indian women that came in from the southward family which lies up the river went away. I gave them ninety fish and three quarts of oatmeal to carry along with them. There is but one man that belongs to three women and two children, and he is so very weak that he is not able to hunt; therefore I expect them again when the victuals is gone which I gave them. One of the goats kidded a he kid. I had a red fox brought home as was shot.

*February 16, Saturday.* Brave, clear, warm weather, the wind southward till towards evening then varied to the SE and was overcast and fell some snow. I had a sled of hay brought from the back of the island. The hand that went to my deputy his traps on Thursday last came home today and brought one marten. One of the goats kid today two kids, one he and one she. An ewe had two ram lambs but both dead.

*February 17, Sunday.* Close weather the wind S and blew a moderate gale all the fore part of the day, but towards evening it blew fresh, snowed very thick and looked as if there would fall a great deal more snow.

*February 18, Monday.* Blustering, blowing, drifty weather, the wind at SWbW. In the evening it snowed a great deal. One of the ewes had two lambs, one he and one she. One of the goats kid and had two kids, one he and one she. I had out of the steel traps a red fox.

*February 19, Tuesday.* Clear weather and pretty cold, the wind at SW and blew hard and drifted the fore part of the day, but in the afternoon was but little wind and proved to be a fine day. I had a sled of hay brought home today from the back of the island. One ewe ewed of two lambs one he and one she.

*February 20, Wednesday.* Close snowy weather the fore part of the day, the wind SE but in the afternoon varied about to N, and clear weather the remaining part of the day. Had one hand a hunting who killed eight partridges. The men have been to fetch a sled of boards from the saw pits. I had two red foxes brought home.

*February 21, Thursday.* Blustering, snowy, drifty weather, the wind at WNW all the day. Three women that belongs to the southward family that lies up the river came in again today. They tell me he sent them away for the Factory and he kept only his two children which he think as he can maintain. The men have been employed today as before.

*February 22, Friday.* Clear, sharp weather, the wind NWN and blew hard and drifted till about noon, when it became quite calm and was a fine afternoon. One of the goats kid two kids, one he and one she. Had two foxes out of the steel traps.

*February 23, Saturday.* It continues clear weather, the wind southerly and has blown a fresh gale all day but has been warm. I had a sled of hay brought home from the back of the island. One hand went to his traps in the plains and brought home two marten and three pheasants. One of the family of Indians that came the seventeenth of January and laid upon the Factory ever since, went away. I have given them seventy tickomegg and four quarts of oatmeal and some powder and shot, for they are so very poor that they have not any thing of their own. So now I have but seven that lies on the Factory which I should be glad to be rid of if I could tell how.

*February 24, Sunday.* Brave, clear, sunshiny weather, the wind at SWbW and blew a moderate gale till about 12 a clock and then it varied to SEbE and blew fresh and was overcast, and towards evening snowed very thick and it looked likely to snow a great deal more. One of the ewes had two lambs, one he and one she.



*February 25, Monday.* Close, snowy weather and has fallen more snow last night and today then has fallen this winter in so small a time, the wind variable from the W in the morning to the N in the afternoon. I went with the men to the back of the island to show them where to cut some fire wood for what we got home in the fall is almost gone. One of the Indian men which I sent away the first instant came in today and has killed some deer since he went from the Factory. I had four men a hunting who killed eighteen partridges. I had a red fox from one of the gun traps. One of the ewes had two lambs, one ram lamb and one ewe lamb. One hand went to his traps up the river to take his martens out if there be any.

*February 26, Tuesday.* Clear, sunshiny weather with a small breeze of wind at NW till the evening, when it came W and grew calm. The men have been cutting fire wood and brought home a sled of hay with them. This evening two of the sheep yande<sup>1</sup> four lambs, two ewes and two rams.

*February 27, Wednesday.* The weather continues as before, the wind at W in the morning and SW in the afternoon and blew moderately. The men have been employed as usual. The Indian that came in a Monday last went away and carried an Indian girl along with him, which he left behind him at the Factory when he last left it. I likewise sent with him a widow woman and a child which belongs to the southward gang that came from the northward. So here is five more that lies on the Factory. One of the goats kid one he kid. Five ewes had eight lambs, four hes and four shes.

*February 28, Uncertain weather,* sometimes pretty clear and at other times overcast and snowed. The wind variable from NW in the morning to NE that it was in the afternoon. I sent the carpenter and two hands with him to the woods to fall and square some beams for our flankers, for the old beams are so rotten that if I should have an occasion to fire the guns they are not of strength to bear them. The rest have been employed to get home fire wood. One of the sheep had a ewe lamb.

*March 1, Friday.* Close warm weather the fore part of the day, and looked as if it would have snowed but did not. In the afternoon it cleared up and proved to be a fine evening, the wind at SE and blew a moderate gale all day. The man that went to his traps on Monday last came home who brought nothing at all with him. Six of the sheep yand of nine lambs, five ewes and four rams. The men have been employed today as before. I had a red fox brought home from one of the gun traps. The Act of Parliament was read in the Factory. The tradesmen are and have been continually kept at work to provide such things as may be wanting for the trade.

*March 2, Saturday.* Clear sunshiny till about 12 a clock and thawed

<sup>1</sup> Yean, to bring forth young. *Oxford English Dictionary*.



some small matter, the wind at NbW but towards evening it varied to NE and was overcast. I had a sled of hay brought home from the back of the island, which is all as remained of that rick. The next cock as I design to spend is up the creek. I had one red fox brought home today from abroad to the Factory.

*March 3, Sunday.* Brave, clear weather the wind N and blew a pretty fresh gale which kept the air cold, otherways it would have thawed very much. The southward family of Indians that went away to the northward the 23 of February came in again, and be now as poor as they were then.

*March 4, Monday.* It continues clear weather and thawed in the middle of the day, the wind N and blew till evening when it grew calm. The men have been employed a hauling home firewood, only the carpenter and a man more who has been a falling and squaring of timber for the flankers. The Indians that came in yesterday I sent away to the southward to that Indian that went away last Wednesday. I have sent two men to lie out to hunt for partridges. I have had a red fox brought home.

*March 5, Tuesday.* Clear, warm, snowy weather, the wind at SW and has blown fresh all the fore part of the day. In the evening it came to W and was but little wind and rained hard for the space of two hours. The carpenter and two hands more has been employed in fitting beams for the flankers. I had a sled of hay brought home from Michems Island.<sup>1</sup> One of the sheep has had one ewe lamb.

*March 6, Wednesday.* It continues clear, warm, thawy weather and here is abundance of snow wasted these two days past. The wind variable from SW in the morning to NNE in the afternoon and blew pretty fresh and froze a little. I had eleven men went to the woods to cut fire wood for our next winters burning. One lamb died in the cow house.

*March 7, Thursday.* Much such a day as yesterday, the wind SW all day. The two hands that I sent to hunt partridges a Monday last came home and brought 111 partridges with them. I sent two men up the river to catch Mousei.<sup>2</sup> One of the goats kid of two she kids. One of the sheep yand a ram lamb. The widow woman and child that I sent away the twenty-seventh of February came in again, who was sent by the Indians who was near starved again and I am afraid that they will all come on the Factory.

*March 8, Friday.* Clear weather, the wind at NW and has blown fresh all day. The men have been to cut fire wood.

*March 9, Saturday.* It continues clear weather, the wind at NW and blew indifferent fresh till towards evening when it became E and became

<sup>1</sup> Referred to on 9 March as 'Michells Island'; but it has not been identified under either name.

<sup>2</sup> Methy or burbot; see p. 26, n. 1.

quite calm. The men have been employed today as before. I went to the woods to see what wood they have cut and I find it to be about two rafts. One of the hands that I sent to catch mousei came home and brought only two small fish. I had a sled of hay from Michells Island.

*March 10*, Sunday. Indifferent clear weather, the wind ESE and a moderate gale all day and thawed a little. The southward Indians which went away to the southward both first and last came all here again, likeways the man and his two children that lay up the river and are all so hungry that they are ready to eat one another,<sup>1</sup> so that now here are twenty that wholly lies on the Factory and I do not expect to get clear of them till such time geese begin to fly here. One sheep yand a lamb but died in a little time.

*March 11*, Monday. Close weather in the morning till about 10 a clock, then it cleared up, the wind NWN and blew fresh and was pretty sharp. I sent the carpenter and two hands more went into the woods to get a tree that will make a fore mast for the ship. The rest of the men have been to haul some boards and planks from the pit. Two sheep yande and has two lambs, one he and one she.

*March 12*, Tuesday. Clear weather and pretty cold insomuch that some of our men that was abroad hauling home boards and planks froze themselves. The carpenter and another hand has been in the woods again a making the ship's mast. One of the men that lay out to catch mousei came home and brought one small mousei. I sent him away again this evening and do expect when it comes to thaw that they will catch fish. But little wind all day, and that variable from the W in the morning to the E in the afternoon.

*March 13*, Wednesday. It continues weather as before, the wind N and has blown fresh till towards the evening when here was a little wind. The men have made two turns to the woods, one for mast for the ship and another for boards and planks. I had a red fox brought home from one of my steel traps.

*March 14*, Thursday. The wind and weather as before. The men have made two turns again for boards and planks. An Indian came from down the river and went away again this evening, but I expect him tomorrow with his family.

*March 15*, Friday. Clear sunshiny weather and thawed in the middle

<sup>1</sup> This is not simply a figure of speech; in 1703 Fullartine wrote home: 'It was a very hard winter (for provision) all over the country, for abundance of the poor Indians perished and were so hard put to it that whole families of them were killed and eaten by one another: the young men killed and eat their parents and the women were so put to it for hunger that they spared not the poor sucking infants at their breasts but devoured them. The reason of this famine among them was the little snow that fell so that they could not hunt beasts'. *H.B.R.S.*, XXV, 9.

of the day but froze morning and evening, the wind variable from the SW in the morning to the SE in the afternoon. The Indian which I mentioned yesterday came in today and his family with him. I went to the woods to see how the sawyers go on, and I find they have three or four days work before they will make an end of those pieces that were fallen and squared for that purpose. One of the ewes had one ram lamb. The men have been employed as usual.

*March 16, Saturday.* Close snowy weather till about 8 a clock, the wind at ESE but then varied to NW and was sometimes clear and at other the sun was overclouded with flying clouds, till about 12 o clock and then those clouds settled and was a fine afternoon. I sent the people to get those pieces that are for the flankers in a readiness for I design to have them brought home as soon as I can. The men brought home a sled of hay with them from Michems Island. One of the goats had two kids whereof one is dead. The two men that lay out a fishing for mousei having no luck came home today. I had my guns and traps brought home.

*March 17, Sunday.* Close, snowy weather the fore part of the day the wind at SE but about the middle of the day varied to SSW and thawed very much, and toward evening rained hard for the space of two hours when the wind varied towards NW, and blew hard and froze and snowed thick and looks as if there would fall a great deal of snow tonight.

*March 18, Monday.* Close, blustering weather and fell last night and today a great deal of snow, the wind at NW all day. One of the sheep had one ram lamb.

*March 19, Tuesday.* Close weather and still till about 10 a clock and snowed a little, and then cleared up, the wind at NW and blew a fresh gale till towards evening, when was little wind. One of the ewes yande one ewe lamb.

*March 20, Wednesday.* Clear weather, the wind E and has blown a fresh gale all day, and has been pretty cold so that it has not thawed at all. The men have been to haul home part of the beams which are for the flankers. I sent two men to lie out a night or two at the north shore to hunt partridges.

*March 21, Thursday.* It continues clear weather, the wind S and blew a fine moderate gale and snowed towards the middle of the day but froze hard morning and evening. The men have been employed as before hauling beams home for the flankers. One of the ewes yande and had one ram lamb. The two men that went out a hunting yesterday came home today and brought twenty-six partridges.

*March 22, Friday.* The wind and weather as before. I had a sled of hay brought home this morning from Michels Island, likewise the rest of the



beams for the flankers were brought home today and is enough to mend the flankers, I believe. I made a beginning on the NE flanker this afternoon and have got one of the old beams out and put a new one in his room. One of the southward family of Indians which I have often mentioned before went away today, and I gave them some fish to carry with them. Here came in this evening three strange Indians with sledges from Muse River to trade, and have brought a pretty many furs along with them.

*March 23, Saturday.* Close weather the wind N and has blown fresh and froze hard all day. My sawyers have made an end of sawing. The men have made one turn for boards and planks, and all is brought home as has been done this winter. The Indians that came yesterday traded today and made me a present of forty deers' tongues, and I made a retaliation for them. Here came in this evening two Indians from down the river who brought only four beaver skins which they traded for tobacco. They tell me that their tent is but one day's journey off, and that they all design to come in goose time. I design to employ the shooters of them to shoot for me and get what geese I can to salt up.

*March 24, Sunday.* Close, snowy weather till about noon when it cleared up and froze hard the remaining part of the day, the wind variable from the N in the morning to the N and bE in the afternoon. The three Indians as came in a Friday last went away this morning, likewise the two Indians as came in yesterday from down the river. The southward family of Indians that went away a Friday last sent in today for victuals and I supplied them with it. This being Easter Day I therefore had the flag hung out and gave to each mess some flour and plums to make them a pudding and to every man a deer's tongue, over and above their allowance. One of the southward Indian men went away along with the Mouse River Indians, but left his wife and children and designs to bring them some victuals if he can get it.

*March 25, Monday.* Close in the morning till 10 a clock when it cleared up and froze hard the remaining part of the day, the wind variable from the NE in the morning to the NW in the afternoon. The southward family of Indians which I mentioned before came in again today.

*March 26, Tuesday.* Close weather all day and looked as if it would have snowed but has not, the wind at SE and has blown fresh all day and froze hard. The carpenter has been laying the deck of the NE flanker and I shail have the guns mounted again as soon as possibly I can. I had a sled of hay brought home today from Michells Island.

*March 27, Wednesday.* Close weather and notwithstanding the wind has been N all day has thawed very much, but towards evening it snowed thick that one could not see above twenty yards from him. The carpenter

has been employed as before a laying the deck of the flanker and is so much laid of the deck that I got all the guns mounted this evening. Here came from down the river one family of Indians who has plenty of fowls and victuals and have pitched their tent by the rest that was out a hunting and reports that he heard a goose but I believe he is mistaken. I sent one hand down to the ship to to bring up some old gunks<sup>1</sup> to make some spun yarn to tie up the beaver.

*March 28, Thursday.* Clear weather and notwithstanding the wind has been N and NE all day till towards evening and then it was SE, yet has thawed very much. The men have been employed today as before. The Indians reported who has their tent pitched here by the Factory that they heard a swan last night, but as to it I give but little credit.

*March 29, Friday.* Close snowy weather till about noon, the wind SE but then it varied to N and NNW and blew hard and drifted till towards the evening when here was but little wind though froze very hard. The Indians which came in last made me a present of four sides of deers' flesh and nineteen deers' tongues and nine deers' heads for which I made them retaliation. The Indians which came last and those which were here before do not design to move from hence till such time the geese come.

*March 30, Saturday.* Clear weather, the wind N and blew fresh till towards evening when here was but little wind. It thawed in the middle of the day some small matter where the sun had power, but froze hard in the shade all day. I sent three men up the river to get some birch helves for hatchets. They overladed their sleds therefore was forced to leave them by the way, but I shall send for them tomorrow morning. I had a sled of hay brought home from Mitchems Island and is all that was there. The next cock and all that I have left is upon Balies Island. I have had twelve ice chisels fixed up and I design to send down hands to cut out the ship if the water be fair.

*March 31, Sunday.* Clear, warm, sunshiny weather and has thawed a great deal in the middle of the day but froze morning and evening, the wind S and SE all day. Here came in today from down the river two families of Indians who complains much of hunger and I believe victuals has been very scarce with them of late, for I took good notice of their sleds and perceive they have a pretty many furs amongst them but no victuals that I could see, so I shall be forced to maintain them till such time as they can get geese. I design to see tomorrow how my fish hold out but I am afraid they will last but a very little while being so many of them to maintain.

*April 1, Monday.* It continues much such weather today as yesterday,

<sup>1</sup> Junk, 'old cable or rope material . . .'. *O.E.D.*

the wind E in the morning but SE in the afternoon. I sent my deputy and sixteen men with him down to Bayly his Island to make a beginning of cutting out the ship. I told my fish which I have left, and I find I have enough to allow those Indians 150 per day till Easter next, and I can not give them less because they may be in number fifty great and small, who are in want of victuals, now that family that came in a Wednesday last and brought victuals with them has spent his talent among the rest, and is become as poor as any of them. The Act of Parliament against piracy was read here in the Factory.

*April 2, Tuesday.* Clear warm weather and has thawed very much insomuch that the plantation is bare in a great many places. The wind SbW all day. The men have been employed as before and have seen several ducks as they were at work a cutting out of the ship. We are likely to have a forward spring and I really believe that if the weather holds so as it does for two days longer we shall see geese. I have given the Indians their allowance of fish again and I hope to be rid of them in a little time.

*April 3, Wednesday.* It continues warm weather, the wind SW and blew a fresh gale and has thawed to that degree that the snow is gone from off the ground except in some places where it drifted up in ridges; and there is abundance of water upon the river, but has not got vent under the ice and if it continues I shall much fear a deluge, and will make preparations for it. One of our men who was at work cutting out the ship today killed two ducks and saw a great many flocks of geese there, and likewise the Indians here at the Factory designs to move in the morning to the little River where I shall employ them to hunt for me and I design to get what I can. This is the forwardest spring that ever I saw since I have been in this country and I wish it may prove a good season for fowl, but I must fear to the contrary.

*April 4, Thursday.* Close heavy weather and did not freeze at all last night which makes me much fear a deluge here being such abundance of water that comes down already, insomuch that our people which went down to Baylys Island today to make an end of cutting out the ship was forced to wade as high as their waists every step they made in the water that lies on top of the ice. I got all the furs that was in the trading room tied up and carried up above stairs in the warehouse this morning betimes, and other things that might take damage but blessed be God between 8 and 9 o'clock this morning the wind shifted from the S where it has been these three days last past at NW and rained one hour then snowed, blowed and froze all the remaining part of the day. Three tents of Indians went away, one of them designs to pitch their tent at the Little Rivers which is the best place for their first flight of gray geese. I have given to



each of them sixty fish and I have remaining in the Factory about one hundred, which is all the fresh fish I have. Here is one tent still, all women and children. They belong to an Indian man that went away the twenty-fourth March to Muce River along with the Indians that came from thence, and is not yet come back.

*April 5, Friday.* It continues close weather till about 10 o'clock when the sun shined out and was clear all the day after, the wind variable from the NW in the morning to the SE in the afternoon. The Indians that went away yesterday sent today for some more fish. I gave them forty and bid them come no more for they were all that I had left in the Factory. The Indian man that went away with the Indians which came in from Muse River and left his wife and children here came back today and brought some victuals to relieve them. I shall send him and his family after the rest in the morning. I sent down two casks of shot and when they begin to kill geese I design to send one man to give them powder and shot as they shall want it. I had a sled of fire wood brought home.

*April 6, Saturday.* Close weather in the morning but it cleared up in a little time and the sun shined out the remaining part of the day. The wind variable from the S in the morning to the NW and NE in the afternoon. It thawed a little in the middle of the day but froze hard morning and evening. The Indians went all away this morning betimes and here came in four more strangers from Muse River and traded what they brought with them and went away again this evening. The families are at Kin-no-tha River.<sup>1</sup> I had a sled of hay brought home from Baylys Island.

*April 7, Sunday.* Clear weather, the wind SEbE and has blown hard and been cold and froze hard in the shade all day long.

*April 8, Monday.* It continues clear weather and has thawed very much in the middle of the day but froze morning and evening. I sent the men to draw down the boat and tenting for our geese hunters at Bayley his island. I likewise ordered them to surfte [?] the ship. I had a goose sent me home from the Indians that lies at Kin-no-sha River. I do design to send out our hunters tomorrow to lie at Baylies Island who have pitched their tent for that purpose. The carpenter has been caulking of the other boat.

*April 9, Tuesday.* Uncertain weather sometimes clear and at other times overcast, the wind E till towards evening when it varied to the N and has blown hard all day and cold and thawed little or nothing. I sent

<sup>1</sup> One of the Little Rivers, incorrectly shown on Hearne's 1774 map as flowing into the Albany River instead of into the Bay. In a letter to the General Editor, Dr Kenyon writes: 'It is marked on modern topographic maps as Canoe River or Jackfish River. The confusion arises because it is the Cree name for Northern Pike or Jackfish, but to the uninitiated sounds like Canoes. Incidentally, it is still the best place on the Albany coast for geese and ducks.'

a man to be with the Indians who is to take the geese from them and deal out powder and shot to them as they have occasion for it, provided they bring him fifteen geese for each pound of powder and shot answerable to it. I sent our hunters to lie out at Bayley his Island. There is three of them and my deputy who I shall send to them till such time as the river is broke up, when I shall send for him home. The snow being almost gone from the garden and that part which is the most inclinable to weeds, I had it pared of near an inch deep which has taken off all the seeds that came from the weeds last fall, and had the ground been dug and those seeds been turned down and mixed with the earth must needs a grown again but I am in hopes this will prevent them, the soil is deep enough to allow what is taken of it.<sup>1</sup> I had a mark for the young men to shoot at set up to bring their hands in practice, in case here should be an occasion to defend the Factory against an enemy.

*April 10, Wednesday.* Close weather and every now and then has snowed, the wind N and has blown fresh and cold all day. The man that I sent to the Indians yesterday came home and three Indians with him. They brought me nineteen gray geese. They tell me there has several flocks of white geese flown three days ago, which is very early, and I wish it may prove a good season for fowl. The Indians returned to their tents again but the English man that came with them stays here till the morning. I had a sled of hay brought home today.

*April 11, Thursday.* It continues much such weather as yesterday, the wind about N and NNE. I sent Mr Thoyts and three men more over to Bayleys Island to lie on board the ship and to keep a watch constantly day and night. I took a walk down with them to see the ship and I find her to be indifferently cut out of the ice, and what is wanting I shall order my deputy to see it done who I shall send down as soon as this weather breaks up. Our hunters that went out a Tuesday has killed nothing as yet. My smith Thomas Routen is daily employed making of hatchets and the other smith Robert Randall<sup>2</sup> a filing and grinding of them, for I willingly would have all the iron wrought up before the ship goes away for fear the smith should leave the country and so I may want hatchets and ice chisels for the next year's trade.

*April 12, Friday.* Close weather till about 12 a clock when it cleared up and the sun shined out all the remaining part of the day, the wind N

<sup>1</sup> Beale's hopes were dashed, as the entry for 1 August in his 1706-07 journal shows: 'the fore Gardine which was Sone with Turnip And other Seeds and By first Comming up out of ye Ground Luckt as if wee should have had a good Crope of each sort. But since ye weeds are Growne up & Chokd all ye Rest, Soe had them mowd downe & how'd out . . .'. B.3/a/2, fo. 2d.

<sup>2</sup> Robert Randall joined the Company from the *Dunkirk* man-of-war as an armourer in 1705. He left the service in 1708. A.14/6, fo. 200; A.15/5, fo. 118.

and has blown fresh all day till evening, when it became quite calm. Here came three Indian women from the little Rivers who tells me that they have not killed one goose since Tuesday last, and they are so hungry that some of the men are not able to go, for they are almost starved for want of victuals. I shall send them a little oatmeal, for my fish are all gone, and I hope we shall have a shift of wind tonight, so they may kill geese for themselves, as well as for us. Mr Thoyts came up from the ship and went on board again this evening.

*April 13, Saturday.* Clear weather all the day, the wind E in the morning but varied to N in the afternoon and blew a fresh gale all the day, and froze gently. This morning my deputy went to lie at the goose tent. One man went along with him but returned again, brought home from the goose tent but one goose.

*April 14, Sunday.* Blustering, windy weather all the day though the sun shined clear and froze gently till the evening and then the sun set very red. About 7 o'clock it was overcast looking as if it would snow or rain. The wind NW all day. One of my Indian hunters came from the southward with the lock of his gun broke and told me that all the Indian hunters had not killed above ten geese which is but a very small number, and I am afraid I shall have but a very bad season. One of the lambs died.

*April 15, Monday.* In the morning it was overcast and fell a little snow but towards noon it cleared up. It was a gentle frost all the day. The wind variable from the N in the morning to the E in the afternoon and blew a fresh gale all the day. Most of the men went to baylys Island to bring hay for the cattle. Two men came from the goose tent for victuals and told me that they have not killed above three geese all the time they have been there. Several of my Indian brought to the Factory twenty-eight gray geese. In the afternoon, I made an alarm to know how all men knew their quarters and how they were prepared with their arms to defend the Factory against an enemy.

*April 16, Tuesday.* Windy, blustering weather and froze all day. In the morning it was a little overcast but at noon it cleared up. The wind variable from the E in the morning to the NE in the afternoon. In the morning I took a walk to the marsh and having my gun I killed five geese. The Indian hunters that came yesterday this morning went away.

*April 17, Wednesday.* Clear weather and froze gently in the shade all day, the wind NE till the evening, and then it was N and blew a fresh gale most part of the day. Several of my Indian hunters came to the Factory and brought 121 gray geese and eleven whalers but returned again. A man came from the goose tent and brought twenty geese and returned again.



*April 18, Thursday.* Thick cloudy weather and froze hard all day, the wind NE and blew pretty fresh. I had from my Indian hunters 127 gray geese and six whavers, and from the goose tent at Bayly his Island I had twenty-nine gray geese. The smiths is kept employed making of hatchets for trade as before, and most of the rest of the men are employed in grinding them hatchets to an edge. I sent several of the men for fire wood. A poor Indian from the north came as was almost starved. He told me he had not eat any thing in five days and that his family and all the Indians to the north were most of them ready to perish and that his family was about a day's journey off, who being very feeble and weak he left them to see if he could get to the Factory to recruit. He likewise told me that his brother and another of kind were a great ways off beyond Thaw-vab-bis-ter<sup>1</sup> which is so far that to send a man with victuals will signify nothing, by reason that if they were in such a condition as the Indian says they were when he left them they will be perished. It has been a very bad winter for the Indians by reason there has been but very little snow therefore they could not follow the tracks of the beasts.

*April 19, Friday.* Fine clear weather, the wind variable from E in the morning to NE in the afternoon and blew a pleasant gale. I had from the goose tent at Bayley his Island twenty-one gray geese and one whaver. A man as went out killed one gray goose. In the morning I took a walk to long Island to see how plentiful the fowl was abroad which I found indifferent plenty though the wind being where they be generally E or NE does much backward their coming. This morning the poor Indian that came yesterday went to meet his family to the northward. I gave him two quarts of oatmeal for his supply, but in a little time after he went his family came to the Factory, and he unluckily missed them. One of my Indian hunters came with the lock of his gun broke, but as soon as it was mended he went away again.

*April 20, Saturday.* Clear weather, the wind E all day. I have had from my Indian hunters seventy-five gray geese and one whaver. The two smiths are daily kept at work at making of hatchets for trade. The family of Indians that came yesterday went away to Baylys Island and is in hopes to meet the poor Indian as belongs to them. I hope now they will shift pretty well it being goose time. I gave them one quart of oatmeal. Towards the evening the creek began to break up and drove down as far as the first point above the Factory. Most of them men were employed to put the goods as was on the ground floor upon logs to keep from damage which is probable they may receive by the river breaking up.

*April 21, Sunday.* The weather much as yesterday, the wind NE. A

<sup>1</sup> Unidentified.

man came from the goose tent and brought me sixteen gray geese and four whavers, but returned again. The creek is broke up no lower but the water falls from under the ice.

*April 22, Monday.* Brave, sunshiny weather, the wind variable from the NE in the morning to the E and bS in the evening. In the morning I went to the back of the island to set the men to work about digging a piece of ground. The ice in the creek is broke up no lower, but the water rather sinks away from under it. Two men came from the goose tent and brought three gray geese and thirteen whavers. My Indian hunters brought me 113 gray geese and forty-eight whavers.

*April 23, Tuesday.* Fine, clear, sunshiny weather, the wind SE and blew a pleasant breeze. In respect to the Queen's Coronation I had the flag hung out abroad and gave to each man a bottle of strong beer. My deputy and two or three men with him came up from the goose tent and brought fourteen gray geese and fifty-eight whavers. My Indian hunters brought six gray geese and twenty-nine whavers. One of my Indian hunters had the lock of his gun broke but was soon mended.

*April 24, Wednesday.* Overcast, cloudy weather, the wind variable from the W in the morning to the N in the afternoon. I had from my Indian hunters thirty-eight gray geese and sixty whavers. The two smiths are daily kept at work a finishing of hatchets for trade. Most of the rest of the men have been employed in digging the garden. The creek has broke up no lower as yet but the ice daily thaws away and I am in great hopes that it will do us little or no damage this season.

*April 25, Thursday.* Clear weather, the wind variable from N and bW in the morning to E in the evening. Most of the men went a digging at the back of the island. My Indian hunters brought to the Factory six gray geese and twelve whavers.

*April 26, Friday.* Dark cloudy weather, the wind NE and blew a fresh gale. I had brought home from the goose tent at Bayly his Island three gray geese and fifty-four whavers. Two Indians came with their canoes who lay at the head of Baly his Island and I believe more will come in a little time by reason the ice decreases every day. The above-mentioned Indians came to the Factory today. The men have been employed as before.

*April 27, Saturday.* Thick thawing weather, the wind NE and blew pretty hard. I had from my Indian hunters three gray geese and forty-eight whavers, and from the goose tent five gray geese and forty whavers. The Indians that came to the head of Bayly his Island yesterday came in their canoes to the creek mouth and afterwards came to the Factory and traded. The men has been employed as before.

*April 28, Sunday.* Blowing weather though clear, the wind at NE. I sent to the creek mouth to see how the ice was gone and found most of the ice is gone out of the main river. I saw the ship though at a distance which seemed to lie very well. I had from the goose tent six gray geese and twenty-four whavers, and from my Indian hunters eleven gray geese and 162 whavers and one swan. Trading time beginning my deputy came up from the goose tent.

*April 29, Monday.* The weather and wind much as yesterday was. Some of the men were employed in hauling the boat down to the ship. I took a walk down there myself and found all things very safe. Most of them as stayed at home were employed in weeding the garden. The two smiths are kept employed in what belongs to their trade. I had from the Indian hunters twenty-three whavers.

*April 30, Tuesday.* Cloudy, overcast weather, the wind easterly, in the morning it rained a little. I had from the goose tent twenty-three geese and from my Indian hunters 123 geese.

*May 1, Wednesday.* Close rainy weather, the wind E. The Indians that came yesterday traded today. I had brought home from my Indian hunters seventy-one geese. The men have been employed turning up the ground and I think to sow my seeds in a day or two's time if the weather permits, which I hope it will for we have had no frost this two days last past.

*May 2, Thursday.* Continues close, rainy, foggy weather the fore part of the day, but in the afternoon cleared up and the sun shined out warm. The wind at E in the morning and at NE the latter part of the day. Some Indians which came from the north this morning traded in the afternoon. They make sad complaints of the hard shifts which they have gone through this winter and that several of them were perished through hunger. Our people have been employed today as before about the garden. The creek is clear of ice so high as boome point.<sup>1</sup> Two Salkemy Indians<sup>2</sup> that came from Muce River left a Salcey behind them, with my Indian hunters, which I was told by them today, and a story as follows that the French together with a great many Indians are coming down to burn our Factory and cut our throats and to this end they have wintered in a lake up Rupuss River<sup>3</sup> and will be here as soon as the ice thaws from

<sup>1</sup> Again, Dr Kenyon has helped with his local knowledge of the area. He writes: 'There is a bend in Fishing Creek about halfway between the old fort and the main river. The point on Anderson Island around which the creek comes to the north is still called Boom Point by the natives.'

<sup>2</sup> These Salkemy Indians from Moose River later appear in the Company records as Sockemy Indians, and are mentioned (in 1727) as 'the only Indians for small furs that comes from those parts'. *H.B.R.S.*, XXV, 124.

<sup>3</sup> Rupert River.



the shore that they may have passage in their canoes.<sup>1</sup> The Indians here are much afraid and will betake themselves to the woods as long as the season of geese is over. I believe their story and shall provide for the worst and will take that care that what forces they can bring over land shall not have that advantage which may do us any damage.

*May 3, Friday.* Clear, sunshiny weather the fore part of the day but the latter part overcast, the wind at NbW and has blown fresh all day. I went to Bayly his Island to order our goose hunters home and what geese I shall want I can get from the Indians. I brought all the men home with me, all but Mr Thoyts and three more which are left to look after the ship which is not yet got off, for there has not been water enough to float her and shall be forced to dig her off at last and have picked six of our best men to send down tomorrow morning betimes for I would willingly have her here in the creek before the Factory, when my men will be at home and shall be the better provided against anything that shall offer. My Indian hunters brought me home eighty-five geese and my people brought home with them from Baly his Island forty-one which is 126 in the whole. The men have been employed to dig some stumps up about the Indian graves where I do design to have a garden. The ice is all broke in the creek so high as the launch but these winds being so northerly hinders it from driving out.

*May 4, Saturday.* Brave, clear, sunshiny weather, the wind variable from NNW that it was in the morning to NE that it was in the afternoon. I sent six men over to Bayly his Island who are to make a beginning to dig out the ship. I ordered them to come home at night for I cannot spare so many men now when the Indians are about the Factory, and I expect more daily for those canoes that are come down have first and last and have their tent still at the creek's mouth and are them that we call home Indians. The Upland Indians<sup>2</sup> does not yet appear which I think is a little strange because the ice has been gone and nothing to hinder them. Had from my Indian hunters forty-four geese. The ice drives up and down here in the creek with the tide but there is passage for boat or canoe.

*May 5, Sunday.* Close weather the fore part of the day but the afternoon was indifferent clear, the wind E and blew cold all day. Mr Thoyts came up from the ship at Bayly his Island this morning but went on board again this evening. There is several Indians come down today but for the

<sup>1</sup> There is no other evidence to support this story — not improbable in itself — that the French were coming overland from Quebec to attack the Company's sole remaining post on Hudson Bay. The next summer, 1707, Indians arrived with similar reports, again unfounded. B.3/a/2, fos. 30 ff. In 1709 the French at last attacked the fort, but were driven off. See *H.B.R.S.*, XXV, 20n., 366–7.

<sup>2</sup> Upland Indians or Uplanders was a term in general use at the Bay posts to refer to the trading Indians who lived inland, and canoed down the rivers to the Bayside posts each summer with their furs.

number of canoes I cannot be certain by reason the ice which drives up and down here in the creek causes them to land below at the mouth of it, but some of them that came for the usual benevolence, a pipe and a pipe of tobacco, they tell me that a leading Indian we call Whatting<sup>1</sup> will be down tomorrow and twenty canoes with him. Some of the Indians which has lain at the creek's mouth some time came up today and traded some small matters. One of the old ewes that was brought out of England yand of two lambs one ewe and one ram.

*May 6, Monday.* Brave, clear, warm, sunshiny weather, the wind S and has blown fresh all day. The twenty canoes that I mentioned yesterday came down today and have pitched their tents in the bite<sup>2</sup> over against Boome point<sup>3</sup> and some of them who came up to trade are disturbed that summer beaver is so much a drudge, and I find we shall have some trouble with them and shall be forced to take some of it, and for the future if they bring any more shall not trade one skin.<sup>3</sup> I sent six men down again to dig of the ship. Mr Thoyts and three men I constantly keep aboard for I would not miss any opportunity to get her off. My Indian hunters brought home today 123 geese. The creek is not clear of ice as yet, but those south winds will set all out to sea. My gardens are so far brought to perfection that I design to sow some seeds in part of them tomorrow.

*May 7, Tuesday.* Close weather and snowy all the forenoon, but in the afternoon the sun shined out, the wind variable from SW that it was in the morning to NE that it was in the afternoon. The Indians which came down yesterday traded today in part. Six men went down again to Bayly his Island to work a digging the ship off. The fore garden part of it was sown today with turnip seed. Fourteen canoes came down this evening. The English man that has been out with the Indians to take the geese from them is come home today, who shall not go with them any more this season. Several of the Indians came up with him and brought fifty-six geese and their bags of feathers to trade.

*May 8, Wednesday.* Clear sunshiny weather all the fore part of the day, but the afternoon overcast, the wind at NE and blew a moderate gale. I and my deputy have been very busy a trading with the Indians all day till

<sup>1</sup> The account book lists '1 Edged Coat 6 lb Braz: Tobacco 1 Hatchett & 6 Knives presented a Leading Indian called Whatting'. B.3/d/15, fo. 17d.

<sup>2</sup> Bight, or small bay.

<sup>3</sup> The Committee's instructions of May 1705 ran: 'Wee Caution you not to Trade somer or stage skins. They being of noe use to us, but on the Contrary pay as much Custome as the best and spoil the Sale of them, besides the Loss of the first cost to us, soe that A great number & badd, is worse than a Lesser number & good'. A.6/3, fo. 7od. In his letter of July 1706 Beale replied: 'Sirs, according to your orders in your letters I have encouraged the trading of parchment beaver and discouraged the wearing of coat and trading of summer beaver though I was forced to trade some or else some of them would have perished by your neglect of shipping so that before the last ship came they had not goods to kill beasts. The summer beaver I did trade I have kept in the country'. H.B.R.S., XXV, 16.

towards evening. I expecting there would be a high tide went down to Bayly his Island and thought to have got the ship off but we had not enough water to float her. The danger is over and nothing more to be done till such time she is off and up against the Factory. The other part of the fore garden was sown today with several sorts of seeds. Some canoes came today, but for the number I can not be certain because they laid below in the bite over against Boome point which is their place of rendezvous this season.

*May 9, Thursday.* Clear weather all day long, the wind variable from the E that it was in the morning to the SW that it was in the afternoon, and has blown hard all day. Four canoes of uplanders came from down the river and traded and went again in the evening, but those that came Monday and Tuesday are here still but have all done trading. The men have been a week about the new garden, but have got it sowed today with turnip seed.

*May 10, Friday.* Continues clear weather with frost in the morning, the wind E and blew a fresh gale. Two Indians which were in the bite are removed to the creek's mouth. I had another garden sown today at the back of the island with turnip seed. I have done gardening for this year and hope I shall have good crops. My Indian hunters brought thirty-six whavers.

*May 11, Saturday.* Clear, warm, sunshiny weather, the wind at SE till about 12 a clock in the afternoon and then it varied to the W and was overcast and rained hard in the evening. Great part of the Indians are gone from the creek's mouth up the river, and others designs the same way tomorrow. The boat came up from the ship this morning for provisions and went on board again in a little time. Now all men being at home except four that are aboard the ship at Bayly his Island I made an alarum that all men might the better know their quarters and to run to them if occasion required it. I had several casks of water filled to stand ready upon our houses and flankers and in the yard to prevent any accident that may happen among ourselves or by others who may endeavour to burn us. The Indian hunters brought fifty geese.

*May 12, Sunday.* Clear, warm, sunshiny weather, the wind W in the morning and E in the afternoon. The Indians are all gone from the creek's mouth except those that have hunted for me this spring. I had from them today fourteen geese. Mr Thoyts came up from the ship but went on board again in the evening. Two canoes came from the north, and fourteen more came from down the river who are very well freighted with beaver.

*May 13, Monday.* Close, rainy, cold weather, the wind N and has



blown fresh all day. I sent the boat with four men to help heave the ship off, but the tide not being high enough they came home again without doing anything. Three canoes of Indians came today, and those that came yesterday have traded in part today but could not make an end by reason of the rain which put them by. I had from my Indian hunters ten geese.

*May 14, Tuesday.* Continues much such weather today as yesterday, the wind NWbN and has blown pretty hard. I went down aboard the ship this morning at Bayly his Island, and the tide according to expectation we got her off and is now afloat, and I design to man two boats tomorrow and tow her up here again to the Factory. The Indians before mentioned are all traded and gone, likewise one single canoe that came from the north today is traded and gone. Also I have discharged all my Indian hunters, only one family who came and pitched their tent here at the Factory this evening, who I shall always keep a hunting for me till such time as the geese are gone, and afterwards I design to send them to Cockakishapenny<sup>1</sup> to be my watch there this summer. This Indian is called Miskemote<sup>2</sup> and has been employed before upon the same account.

*May 15, Wednesday.* Uncertain weather, sometime clear and the sun shine out and at other times overcast with rain, the wind variable from the SW that it was in the morning to EbE that it was in the afternoon, and has blown fresh all day. I sent the two boats down today to tow the *Knight* up and they have got her in the creek's mouth so she lies at Boome point, but the tide being down and the wind against them could not get her any further. I sent Richard Staunton and the two Indian men out a hunting who are to stay abroad till tomorrow and get what geese they can. Our people has been employed today a carrying the dung out of the cow house.

*May 16, Thursday.* Clear, warm weather till about 2 a clock, the wind variable from W in the morning to EbS in the afternoon when it was overcast with rain. The *Knight* frigate came and is moored here before the Factory. Richard Staunton with two Indian men that I sent out a hunting yesterday came home and brought thirty geese. One canoe came down the river and traded and went away again. One of the old ewes that was brought from England died last night. I had two nets set here in the creek today.

<sup>1</sup> The modern Cockispenny Point, southeast along the coast from Albany; it is marked on Hearne's 1774 map as Cookisbiney.

<sup>2</sup> The accounts for the 1704-05 outfit list presents to 'an Indian Call'd Muscamote employed by ye Govr to lye at Cockkishapenny a good part of ye Summer & all ye fall, as well to Look out for Canoes of French along Shore, as for Shipping'. B.3/d/14, fo. 57. The 1705-06 accounts note that for carrying out the same duties in 1706 he was given '1 Edged Coat 3 lb Powder 15 lb Shott 4 lb Braz: Tobacco'. B.3/d/15, fo. 17d.

*May 17, Friday.* Fine, clear, warm, sunshiny weather with small breezes of wind at NE. Two canoes of home Indians<sup>1</sup> came from the north shore who traded and returned again this evening. The carpenter is upon finishing the fore mast for the *Knight* frigate, and her rigging is all put on board her today. I had out of the nets as was set yesterday five fish. The beaver in the trading room was bundled up today.

*May 18, Saturday.* Close weather till about 12 o'clock when it cleared up and the sun shined out all the remaining part of the day, the wind N and has blown raw. Here came today nine Salkemys Indians over land from Muce River. They brought but a small parcel of furs and what they had was mostly in martens. In the winter time they complained much of hunger, I therefore gave them two or three quarts of oatmeal. Here arrived one canoe of Indians this evening from down the river who are indifferent well freighted with beaver. I had from the nets fourteen fish.

*May 19, Sunday.* Clear cold weather, the wind at N and NE and blew a fresh gale all day long. The Indians that came ashore yesterday traded and went today. One ewe yand of a ram lamb, another sheep was killed by an Indian dog. My nets afforded me ten fish.

*May 20, Monday.* Continues cold, unseasonable frosty weather. The *Knight's* main mast and fore mast was put on board and raised. I had two Indians out a hunting. They killed four geese between them both. Had out of the nets 115 fish. One canoe of home Indians came today with one of their guns broke which was mended for him so went about his business. I sent four men back to the Island to make a hedge or a fence round my new garden, for there I design to keep the cattle and Indians from running over it. The two smiths are daily kept at work making hatchets. Indians come in but slowly and I am afraid that I shall have but a very bad trade this summer for they have been so often balked<sup>2</sup> that they are fearful of coming because they think they shall lose their labour.

*May 21, Tuesday.* Clear weather and indifferent warm, the wind still N. Here arrived three canoes today, two of which came from the north and the other down the river. They traded and was gone before noon and one

<sup>1</sup> Home or homeguard Indians; those who lived near the post and were employed to carry messages, kill game etc. as well as do some local trapping.

<sup>2</sup> Albany had received no ship and therefore no trading goods in either 1703 or 1704. In his July 1706 letter to the London Committee Beale pointed out: 'The hardships we underwent occasioned by your not sending of ships the year before last with a supply; for which you have lost sufficiently by omitting the same. For had here been goods to [have] supplied the Indians we had had the greatest trade for this two or three years last past as ever has been at this place especially in small furs. But this failure of shipping so continually is the ruin of all, nay the very Indians now upbraid us with it, and tell us that we have but a single ship once in two or three years which is really very hard'. *H.B.R.S.*, XXV, 15.

of the Indians told me that he was at port nelson last fall was twelve month<sup>1</sup>, and that the French had two ships come then with abundance of trading goods. Four men have been at the back of the island and made an end of what they were about. The carpenter has been employed in caulking the warehouse and the men on board a rigging the ship. Had from the nets eight fish.

*May 22, Wednesday.* Close, cold weather and has looked as if it would have rained but has not, the wind NbE and blown hard the fore part of the day but towards evening was very calm. Here came two canoes more from the north who traded and went away in a very little time, and since here is arrived from Muce River five canoes of the Shaggamies, Heiatchchimissey<sup>2</sup> with them, of whom I have enquired of the story that flies here among our home Indians and was mentioned the second instant, but he is altogether a stranger to it and has not heard any thing of the matter. I had again from my nets eight fish. The carpenter is employed as before, likewise the men aboard the ship.

*May 23, Thursday.* Uncertain weather, sometimes clear and at other times overcast and looked likely to rain, with little or no wind, but has not. The wind all the fore part of the day variable, but towards evening it was E and blew pretty fresh. The Indians that came yesterday traded today, and they being all hungry I gave them some oatmeal. I had from my nets fifteen fish. The carpenter is still employed in caulking our houses. The ship called the *Knight* is now rigged and now wants only to have her rudder hung.

*May 24, Friday.* Close, rainy weather, the wind at SW till about 12 a clock, then it varied to EbS and was a fine clear afternoon. The Indians before mentioned went all away today. My two hunters that went away yesterday came home and brought eight brants<sup>3</sup> and two geese. My nets afforded fourteen fish again.

*May 25, Saturday.* Close, cloudy, rainy weather and rained hard toward evening, the wind E all day. Here arrived this afternoon five canoes from Muce River which belongs to the old Cap Squadron that sailed from hence yesterday. Had from my nets fifteen fish.

*May 26, Sunday.* Continues close weather the fore part of the day but the afternoon was pretty clear, the wind N and has blown fresh and cold all day. The Indians that came yesterday traded and went away. Here

<sup>1</sup> Presumably 1704.

<sup>2</sup> This seems to be the Indian listed in the account book as 'Schotchamisse'. In this year he received as presents '2 yards Broad Cloth 4 Yards Bayes 1 Gun of 4 foot Long 6 lb Braz: Tobacco'. B.3/d/15, fo. 17d. He is referred to in the 1704-05 account book as captain of the 'Sweeshaogamees'. B.3/d/14, fo. 10d.

<sup>3</sup> Brant or Brent Goose, *Branta bernicla* (Linnaeus). Graham wrote of them: 'They are so fishy tasted that they are quite disregarded both by Europeans and Indians . . .'. *H.B.R.S.*, XXVII, 43.



came overland from Muce River one Indian and his wife. This evening I had from my nets forty fish.

*May 27, Monday.* Clear, sunshiny weather till about noon, the wind at SE, but then varied to N and was overcast with thunder, lightning and rain in a bundance all the remaining part of the day. I begun this evening to shear my sheep but the alteration of the weather made me refer it. The Indian man that came in yesterday is him we call the Post, who has been always noted for a great news munger, whose story is thus that the French and Indians that were coming against our Factory are hindered by those Indians that lies between them and us who will not suffer them to pass through their country, notwithstanding they have offered them presents to that end, but they have been utterly refused and for this reason we need not much fear this summer but the next he believes they will be here with us. This is but an Indian story, but I shall rather believe than laugh and tell them they lie which may hinder them from speaking the truth. Had from my nets twenty fish.

*May 28, Tuesday.* Blustering, cold, rainy weather all the whole day, the wind N, which is unseasonable, yet it is more than we might reasonably expect considering the winter that was so warm the like scarcely ever was seen since we have had settlement here. My nets afforded twenty-four fish.

*May 29, Wednesday.* The wind and weather continues as before till about 3 a clock in the afternoon, when it cleared up and proved to be a fair evening. One of my old ewes that was brought from England and another which was bred here in the country died today which is usual when they come first to feed upon grass after so long being kept upon hay that the alteration of food purges and scours them to that degree that they become very weak. We lose more or less of them every spring. Had from my nets fifteen fish.

*May 30, Thursday.* Clear weather with a white frost in the morning but since a warm day, the wind variable from the W that it was in the morning to N and NE in the afternoon and blew fresh towards the evening. Two canoes of Indians came from the north and traded and went away again today. Likewise the Indian man and his wife that came from Muce River on Monday last and is before mentioned went away today. My nets afforded twelve fish.

*May 31, Friday.* Uncertain weather, sometimes clear and at other times overcast with flying clouds, the wind NE and blew cold and raw all day. The Indian called Muskemote who I have employed to be my watch this summer at Cockalishapenny is gone there today. Five canoes of the Shiagamies arrived here and are all hungry. I therefore gave them some oatmeal. Had from my nets seven fish.

*June 1, Saturday.* Close, rainy weather, the wind at NE in the morning and EbS in the afternoon, and blew pretty hard till about 6 a clock in the evening when it dullard and rained with thunder and lightning in a bundance. The five canoes that came yesterday traded and went away today. I had my nets taken up and dried and set again at the creek's mouth. The men have been employed clearing the Factory of all rubbish.

*June 2, Sunday.* Clear, warm, sunshiny weather, the wind variable from the SW in the morning to SE that it was in the afternoon. One canoe of Indians came from the north and traded and went away again. My nets afforded twenty-eight fish. I had them taken up and removed to Bayly his Island in hopes of better luck there.

*June 3, Monday.* Clear, warm, sunshiny weather, the wind at W and blew a moderate gale all day. The *Knight* frigate was hauled ashore in order to have her bottom searched. My nets afforded twelve fish. The Act of Parliament was publicly read in the Factory.

*June 4, Tuesday.* Close weather in the morning till about 10 a clock, and then it grew clear till evening when it was overcast and rained, the wind variable from the SW in the morning to the SE in the afternoon. The carpenter has been employed about the ship. I made a beginning to pack beaver today. I believe our trade is almost over for the season. I went to my nets this afternoon and had out of them seventeen fish and fifteen which we had from them in the morning, makes thirty-two in all. We have been shearing more sheep.

*June 5, Wednesday.* Clear weather in the morning, the wind S, but about 12 a clock it varied to N and NW and blew fresh. The ship being caulked I had her hauled afloat and her rudder hung. I likewise have sheared the rest of the sheep. I went to the nets but had not so good luck as yesterday. Caught only twenty-two. I have been packing beaver again today.

*June 6, Thursday.* Close weather and rained a little in the morning but cleared up about 12 a clock and was a fine afternoon, the wind N and has blown fresh all day. I went to the back of the island to see how my gardens are which are in pretty good order. Had from my nets aforesaid twenty fish. Here arrived this evening from down the river eight canoes whereof six are Shiogimys and the other two Cristeens<sup>1</sup> which is all we have had of that sort of Indians this summer.

*June 7, Friday.* Clear weather with a white frost in the morning but since it proved a fine warm day, the wind variable from NE that it was in the morning to SE that it was in the afternoon. The Indians that came down yesterday traded today and after they had done I gave them some

<sup>1</sup> Cristineaux or Cree.

oatmeal, and they being hungry were thankful for it and so went about their business. I had eight lambs and one kid gelt today.<sup>1</sup> Had from the nets six fish. The carpenter is employed about one of his boats which is so rotten that her bottom wants new timbers and new boards and shall get her done as soon as well we can with timbers made of fir.

*June 8, Saturday.* Fine clear, warm weather, the wind S and blew a moderate gale till about 5 a clock in the afternoon, when it varied to NE and blew fresh so that the sun was overshadowed with flying clouds, it lightens much withall. The carpenter has been employed as before and most of the other people has been employed in packing beaver into casks. The nets afforded ten fish.

*June 9, Sunday.* Uncertain weather, sometimes clear and at other times overcast and rained a little in the afternoon, the wind variable from NW that it was in the morning to ENE that it was in the afternoon and has blown fresh and cold for the time of year. Here arrived one canoe from the north who traded and went away again. Had from the nets eighteen fish. One of my ewes yand today of a ram lamb.

*June 10, Monday.* Clear, warm, sunshiny weather, the wind at SW all day. We have been packing coat beaver in casks today. Had from my nets sixteen fish. The carpenter is still employed about the boat.

*June 11, Tuesday.* Close, rainy weather in the morning but cleared up about 6 a clock and was a fine warm day, the wind at SW till towards evening when it varied about to ENE and blew pretty fresh and was overcast and looked as if we should have more rain. Here arrived one canoe of Indians from the north who traded and went away again. Had from the nets but one fish. Our people has been employed a packing beaver.

*June 12, Wednesday.* Close weather and has fallen a pretty deal rain last night but cleared up about the middle of the day and was a fine afternoon, the wind variable from N to NE and blew a fresh gale. Had from the nets fifteen fish. I have made an end of packing all but some small furs which must be done after the ship comes from the East Main.

*June 13, Thursday.* Cold weather with a frosty morning, the wind N and has blown pretty fresh all day. Here came one canoe from the north whose chiefest business was to have one of their guns mended which was done so they went away about their own affairs. My nets fails me for we caught but five fish in all today.

*June 14, Friday.* Continues much such weather as before, the wind variable from N that it was in the morning to the E and S that it was in

<sup>1</sup> Gelded.



the afternoon. I went to the back of the island to see how the grass grew which I find to be pretty thick and forward but I design to give it another week's growth before I have it cut. Had from the nets nine fish for which it is hardly worth while to keep them in the water. I had eight lambs more gelt today which is all but two that I keep to increase the breed.

*June 15, Saturday.* Clear, warm, sunshiny weather, the wind S and blew a fresh gale all day long. Had from my nets ten fish.

*June 16, Sunday.* The weather continues as before, the wind at SW and blew a fresh gale till toward evening when it was inclining more to the W and did not blow so much as before. Had from the nets ten fish.

*June 17, Monday.* Close weather and rained a little in the morning, the wind W, but in the afternoon it varied to NW which blew pretty cold, but was indifferent clear the remaining part of the day. Had from my nets twenty-two fish and I had them taken up today.

*June 18, Tuesday.* Fine, clear, warm weather with a breeze of wind at NE till towards evening when it varied to S and was calm. I went over to Bayly his Island to see the grass which I found to be short as yet but upon about long Island I found it of better growth and do design to send my mowers there to make a beginning.<sup>1</sup> I had two nets set again at the creek's mouth.

*June 19, Wednesday.* Clear weather the fore part of the day, the wind at S till about noon when it varied to the W and NW and was overcast with thunder and blew very hard the remaining part of the day. I had three men mowing at long Island and three more to carry the grass together, for I do design to have it brought home in boats and made in hay here at the Factory. Had from the nets eighteen fish.

*June 20, Thursday.* Clear weather the wind variable from the W in the morning to the SE in the afternoon. The grass which was cut yesterday I had it brought home today, and six men are employed today cutting more and getting it together. Had from my nets but one fish.

*June 21, Friday.* Close, rainy weather all day which has put me by mowing but has proved kindly in this case. Those parts of my garden that was sown with cabbage seed came up very thick and are encumbered with a multitude of weeds that they have not room to grow. Therefore I have

<sup>1</sup> The number of men involved in grass-cutting and hay-making left the fort thinly manned in case of French attack. Fullartine had complained to the Committee in 1703 that livestock 'are no ways fitting to be kept in the country in time of war, for in the most dangerous time in all the year, that is from the first of July to the 10th of August, half my hands were fain to lie out to get them hay, to the great hazard of the whole factory'. *H.B.R.S.*, XXV, 12. The Committee replied to Beale in 1705 that he should slaughter many of his livestock each fall, keeping only the best breeders, 'which will save the Hay, & consequently the fewer men to provide it'. A.6/3, fo. 70. When Beale wrote to the Committee in July 1706 he mentioned that he would keep only forty out of the 102 livestock which were at Albany at the time of writing. *H.B.R.S.*, XXV, 16.

transplanted them into other ground which I kept for the same occasion. The grass that was cut yesterday I had it brought home today. Had from the nets fifteen fish. Here came in today one canoe of Shoshioggames from Muce River.

*June 22, Saturday.* Clear weather the fore part of the day, the wind at NW but in the latter part it varied to the SE and was overcast and looked as if we should have rain this night. The Indians that came down yesterday traded and went away. Most of our people has been employed in the gardens a weeding, it being full of weeds. Had from my nets twenty fish.

*June 23, Sunday.* Close, cloudy, blustering, showery weather mostly, though at some times the sun would show itself through the clouds but in a little time would be overshadowed and rain very hard, the wind at NWN all day.

*June 24, Monday.* Clear, warm, sunshiny weather, the wind variable from the NW in the morning to the SE in the afternoon. I had six men employed at the back of the island mowing and making hay. I had my nets that was taken up on Saturday set again today.

*June 25, Tuesday.* A close, calm morning and looked as if it would rain but cleared up about the middle of the day and was a fine afternoon with a breeze of wind S. I had seven men at the back of the island a mowing and making hay. I had from the nets thirty fish.

*June 26, Wednesday.* Clear in the morning but before 8 a clock it was overcast with rain, lightning and thunder which continued very severely till 2 in the afternoon when it cleared again and proved a fine evening. I sent seven men to the back of the island but by reason of the rain returned again without doing much. Had from the nets twenty fish. I had the sails sent on board the *Knight* frigate so that she may be ready to go out when the ship comes from Gillpins Island to carry off goods or what else she may have occasion for. What wind we have had has been S all day.

*June 27, Thursday.* Extreme hot sultry weather, the wind S all day. I had several men employed at the back of the island getting hay for our cattle. Here came four canoes from down the river who brought little or nothing with them. Their business was to trade some furs which they left in the Factory last summer before the ship came here. Has since they came a fatal accident happened to one of them. They leaving their canoes careless at the waterside sometime after the tide came and sent one of them adrift, after which two girls went, one about 15 years old and the other older, and unfortunately one of them was drowned. Had from the net twenty fish.

*June 28, Friday.* Clear weather in the morning but overcast in the afternoon, the wind variable from the N that it was the fore part of the

day to EbS that it was the latter part of the day. I had twelve men abroad a getting hay for our cattle. The boat that the carpenter has been about is finished and is again as strong as at first. Had from the nets forty fish. The carpenter I shall employ a caulking our dwelling house.

*June 29, Saturday.* Clear weather and extreme warm withall, the wind at SW and blew a fresh gale. The men have been employed as before making hay. The carpenter has been caulking my house. Had from the nets thirty fish. I had them taken up and brought home to be dried.

*June 30, Sunday.* The wind and weather continues as before, and I think that those two days has been as hot as ever I felt it in the country.

*July 1, Monday.* Close, blustering weather and every now and then would rain a little, wind about NNW till about 2 a clock in the afternoon when it varied to N where it dullard and grew almost calm and was a fine evening. I had seven men at the back of the island who has been a mowing more grass and carrying it up out of the way of the water into higher grounds where it may be dried and made into hay. I had my nets set again over at Bayly his Island which is the best place for our fishing at present. The Act of Parliament was read in the Factory.

*July 2, Tuesday.* A white, frosty morning but since has proved a fine warm day, the wind S and blew a fresh gale all day. I had ten men employed a hay making. I sent Mr Thoyts down the river to discover the best of the channel that he might know how to carry the *Knight* out and in when the ship comes here from Gilpins Island. Had from the nets fifty sucking fish.<sup>1</sup>

*July 3, Wednesday.* Hot, sultry weather, the wind S, sometimes varying to SW and blew fresh. I had seven men employed abroad a getting hay. Had from my nets twenty fish and took them up to dry.

*July 4, Thursday.* Continues very warm weather, the wind between the SW and the W and in the morning till about 9 a clock since which it has blown extreme hard and the sky has been full of black flying clouds which would oftentimes overshadow the sun and looked as if it would rain but did not till evening when there fell some small matter. I went to the back of the island to see my hay and found it dry, but could not cock it by reason of the wind blowing hard. Mr Thoyts went down the river to lay some buoys, but by reason of the stormy weather could not.

*July 5, Friday.* Brave clear weather, the wind variable from the SWbW that it was in the morning to the SE that it was in the afternoon. I had all the hay that was dry cocked up for fodder. I went up to Mitchims Island to see how the grass grows and I find I shall have a cock there

<sup>1</sup> Dr Scott of the Ichthyology Department of the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, has suggested that these were probably Northern suckers, although they might possibly be Redhorse or White suckers.



when it has had more growth. I had my two nets set again. Here came one canoe of Salcomy Indians from Muce River and brought a pretty many furs to trade.

*July 6, Saturday.* Clear weather for most part of this day, the wind E till about noon when it varied to ENE where it continued till 6 in the evening, when it came to the N and NbW and blew a moderate gale all day but was then overcast and fell some small matter of rain. Our people has been employed today as before making hay, some at home and others at the back of the island. I sent Mr Thoyts down the river to lay the buoys whereby he may the better know how to carry the ship out and in the river without running aground. Had from the nets twenty fish. The Indians that came yesterday went away this morning. Here came an Indian over land from Cockakishapenny who tells me they saw a ship this morning which I suppose to be Captain Grimington from Gilpins Island.

*July 7, Sunday.* The Indian that brought me news of the ship yesterday in the evening went away this morning. I sent out a man who was the nimblest foot man in the Factory to discover their boat and bring me news when he saw them coming into the river. He brought me word that he saw their boat coming. I sent away my boat with my deputy and five men with him to receive and answer their signal which after being done on boats sides they came up to the Factory and Captain Grimington came himself. It was fine clear weather with a brisk gale, the wind E. I had a lamb killed.

*July 8, Monday.* Continues clear, warm weather, the wind variable from the NE that it was in the morning to the SE that it was in the evening. I sent the *Knight* out this morning to bring the furs from on board the *Hudson's Bay* which has been traded by Captain Fullertine at Gilpins Island.<sup>1</sup> Captain Grimington went to his ship again today. I had seven men at the back of the island, some a mowing and others a making of hay. Had from the nets eight fish.

*July 9, Tuesday.* The weather as before, the wind variable from NW that it was in the morning to SE that it was in the afternoon and blew a fine breeze all day. My men has been employed as usual. Had from my nets six fish.

*July 10, Wednesday.* Clear, warm weather the fore part of the day, the wind at SE, but about noon varied ENE and blew hard and was overcast and looked likely to rain. I had eight men at the back of the island a making hay for our cattle. Captain Fullertine came up here from on board the

<sup>1</sup> Amounting to 2491 made beaver (B.3/d/16, fo. 11); these were not included in the returns for the 1705-06 outfit.

*Hudson's Bay* and by reason of some rash promises which he has made occasioned him to take his lodging in a tent.<sup>1</sup>

July 11, Thursday. Blustering, rainy weather for the most part of the day, the wind at NE till towards evening when it varied to N, so our people has not done anything today. The *Knight* lies on ground here in the river upon the sand but I hope they will get her off in the morning tide. I had one lamb killed.

July 12, Friday. Clear weather in the morning till about 10 a clock when it was overcast and the sky full of black heavy clouds, and at 2 a clock it rained hard for some time but cleared up and was a fair evening. I had several men employed at the back of the island a making hay. I sent four men over to Bayly his Island who are to be there upon the same account. The wind has been at SW or between that and WbS all day, which is bad for the *Knight* which is not got up to the Factory yet.

July 13, Saturday. Clear weather in the morning but overcast in the afternoon, the wind variable from SW in the fore part of the day to SEbS the latter part of the day and has blown a fresh gale. The *Knight* is hindered by the fore-mentioned reason, but I had most part of the goods taken out and brought up to the Factory in the boat. I sent Captain Grimington's boat on board to fetch him up and I will call a Council to see what men will stay in the country.<sup>2</sup> My hay makers came up from Bayly his Island this evening. The Indian that I employed to lie at Cockakishapenny this summer came here and one family more with him.

July 14, Sunday. Clear weather but has blown very hard all day but especially in the morning when the wind was at SW but since it varied to NW it has been something moderate. The *Knight* got into the creek by

<sup>1</sup> This obscure reference is not much clarified by Beale's letter to the Committee of 23 July, though it is probably this incident which Beale describes: 'But after [wintering], through mis-information of some knaves who told him [Fullartine] several stories caused him to make a resolution not to come within the factory any more; therefore did he in a tent just without all the time he was from the ship, which I was very sorry for by reason I ever had and have still a great respect for him. I had the happiness of his conversation every day and I be very well satisfied we parted good friends'. *H.B.R.S.*, XXV, 18-19.

<sup>2</sup> The meeting of the council was held on 20 July, with the result set out in the minutes: 'Whereas the *Hudson's Bay* frigate being come from the east and now upon being bound for England found that most of the best men their times being out — were for going home and would not stay unless they had extraordinary wages, which of necessity we were forced to agree to the persons we have agreed with are as follows, viz: Peter Farrenden gunner at £48 per annum, Thomas Routen smith at £40 per annum, Thomas Dutton at £30 per annum and the value of £3 in goods out of the warehouse, Edward Williams at £30 per annum and the value of £3 in goods out of the warehouse, Charles Cronell at £30 per annum, James Toppey at £30 per annum, Benjamin Whithead at £20 per annum, Jobe Godfrey at £20 per annum. Robert Knight at £30 per annum. Gotlob Augustus at £24 per annum, John Butler at £30 per annum, Christopher Jackson at £30 per annum, William Stuart at £30 per annum, William Curtis at £30 per annum, Thomas Hore at £20 per annum, Thomas Smith at £20 per annum, Charles Bunnell at £30 per annum. [Signed]: Anthony Beale, Nathaniel Bishop, John Fullartine, Michael Grimington, Stephen Pitts, Richard Staunton'. *Ibid.*, 17n.

the help of boats to tow her so lies up at Boome point but I could not get her here. I expected Captain Grimington up today but the increase of wind has hindered him.

*July 15, Monday.* Clear warm weather, the wind N the fore part of the day and blew fresh towards the evening when it varied to E and was little or no wind at all. The *Knight* got here to the launch this morning. I had her unloaded and filled with casks and bundles of beaver in order to send her to Captain Grimington in the road, and to deliver the goods on board of his ship.<sup>1</sup> Captain Grimington came up himself this evening who I before sent for and shall see tomorrow what men we can get to stay in the country. I had four men went down to Bayly his Island a mowing but came home again this evening. Had a goat kidded of one he kid.<sup>2</sup>

Anthony Beale.

<sup>1</sup> The 1705-06 account book (B.3/d/15, fo. 18) shows that the trade for that outfit was made up as follows:

'5757	Coat Beaver Skins
9618	Whole Pearcht. Ditto
1420	In 2840 Half Pearcht. Ditto
840	In 3360 Martens Skins
143½	In 287 Otters Skins
2½	In 5 Red Foxes Skins
121	In 121 Catts Skins
2	In 1 Moose Skin
1	In 1 Woolfe Skin
30	In 15 Bares Skins
7	In 7 Cubb Skins
3½	In 7 Queequeehatch Skins
35¾	In 358 lb Feathers
191	In 191 lb Castorum'

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18172½

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To this total, expressed in terms of Made Beaver, must be added the trade for the previous two outfits, neither of which had been shipped back to England: 1703-04 outfit 25,888 Made Beaver (including the East Main trade); 1704-05 outfit 8,907 Made Beaver. B.3/d/14, fos. 11, 57d.

<sup>2</sup> Though this is the last journal entry, Beale's letter to the London Committee is dated 23 July 1706, and according to an account book entry (A.15/5, fo. 139) the *Hudson's Bay* sailed for England on 25 July.



# ALBANY FORT AMERICA: ANNO 1706

TABLE 1: TRADING GOODS<sup>1</sup>

Remains trading goods as pr balance of last year's Account

430 lbs powder	154 powder horns
8477 lbs shot	144 painted boxes
149 kettles and 21 pans	83 tobacco boxes
weigh[ing] 223 $\frac{5}{4}$ lbs	79 pair ditto tongs
221 lbs beads	8108 pewter buttons
2 $\frac{1}{8}$ lbs vermilion	78 ice chisels
96 lb red lead	14 scrapers
60 $\frac{1}{2}$ lb thread	71 leather looking glasses
78 Guns: 52 of 4 foot and	12 tin shoes
26 of 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ foot long	440 hawks bells
15 pistols	67 iron wire handcuffs
15642 flints	24 horns for men's heads
6 sword blades	24 pairs yarn gloves
29 bayonets	37 pairs cargo breeches
308 fire steels	0 $\frac{3}{4}$ yards broadcloth
691 worms	50 yards baize
700 needles	

A copy of the invoice of trading goods sent over this year from England by Capn Michael Grimington, Commander of the *Hudson Bay* frigate as here under follows viz

5584 lbs powder <sup>2</sup>	144 pewter	} spoons
20160 lbs shot	144 alchemy	
350 brass kettles weigh[ing]	72 pairs stockings	
1020 lbs	72 pairs shoes	
2432 lbs Brazil tobacco	144 powder horns	
1018 lbs Virginian Ditto <sup>3</sup>	580 hatchets	

<sup>1</sup> B.3/d/15, fo. 8-8d.

<sup>2</sup> In its general letter of May 1705 which accompanied this cargo the London Committee wrote: 'You will find in Invoice 56 Barrells of gun powder which is French powder & Extraordinary good, the same being part of the cargoe of the Canada Shipp taken Last yeare. & is much better then ours, and by consequence more acceptable to the Indians, soe hope you will be able to reduce the Standard of this sort of powder when you Trade the same, also some of the French Knives, Awls & Hatchets & hope you will make as good an advantage of them as you can there being severall sorts, the Indians generally prizeing them much more then ours.' A.6/3, fo. 70. Beale's comments on all this were less than enthusiastic: 'The powder that came last over was but very indifferent and a great deal of it damaged though I suppose you bought it for the best by reason you praised it much in your letter, but for the before mentioned reasons 'tis impossible to raise the standard.' *H.B.R.S.*, XXV, 15-16.

<sup>3</sup> Again to quote from the Committee's letter of May 1705, 'You wrote for Two hoggsheads of Vergina Leafe Tobacco, but wee have sent you none but what is made up in Roles, that lying in much less compass on board the shipp, soe have sent you A greater Quantity of that then was Indented for, allowing you to sell of it to our servants, but noe Brazeill Tobacco to be sold but to ye Indians.' A.6/3, fo. 70.

60 lbs vermilion	72 egg boxes
25 lbs black lead	160 shirts
100 lbs thread	792 ivory } combs
450 Guns: 308 of 4 foot and 142 of 3½ foot	36 horn }
4000 flints	216 tobacco boxes
24 bayonets	3456 pewter buttons
288 fire steels	288 rings
72 files	305 Turkey reds <sup>1</sup>
500 worms	144 pairs scissors
600 net lines	50 plumes Ostrich feathers
3800 awl blades	3184 yards broadcloth <sup>2</sup>
2052 skeins twine	271 yards baize
2200 needles	320 yards flannel
324 fish-hooks	364 yards duffel
6192 knives	255 blankets
	210 gallons brandy

Made and fitted up here in the Factory by the Governor his order the following particulars

16 Guns: 3 of 4½ foot, 9 of 4 foot, 4 of 3½ foot long  
 600 hatchets  
 114 ice chisels  
 99 scrapers  
 146 arrow heads  
 100 caps  
 170 edged } men's coats  
 24 plain }  
 66 youths' coats

In which was used 473 yards broadcloth, 2 yards baize,  
 20 yards flannel, 114½ dozen buttons, 7½ lbs thread.

<sup>1</sup> Brilliant red cotton cloth.

<sup>2</sup> The Committee informed Beale: 'You also Indent for coats for Trade, & for our Servants but wee have sent none, But the Quantity of Cloth, with buttons & thread flannel for Edging & A Taylor to make them, hoping you will keepe him close to his worke in the winter, that you may be able to provide against your Spring Trade, this Cloth takes not one third of the Rome it would have done, had it been made up in Coates.' A.6/3, fo. 70.

TABLE 2: STANDARD OF TRADE<sup>1</sup>

Powder value[d] at $1\frac{1}{2}$ lbs p. Beaver	Painted boxes at 4 p. Beaver
Shot at 5 lbs p. Beaver	Shirts at 1 p. Beaver
Kettles at 1 lb p. Beaver	Combs at 2 p. Beaver
Brazilian tobacco at 1 lb p. Beaver	Tobacco boxes at 2 p. Beaver
Virginian at $1\frac{1}{2}$ lbs p. Beaver	Ditto tongs at 2 pair p. Beaver
Beads at $\frac{3}{4}$ lb p. Beaver	Pewter buttons at 12 dozen p. Beaver
Vermilion at $1\frac{1}{2}$ ounce p. Beaver	Rings at 6 p. Beaver
Red lead at 1 lb p. Beaver	Scissors at 2 p. Beaver
Black ditto at $\frac{1}{2}$ lb p. Beaver	Ice chisels at 2 p. Beaver
Thread at $\frac{1}{2}$ lb p. Beaver	Scraper at 2 p. Beaver
Guns value[d] according to their length from 7 to 10 Beavers p. Gun	Leather looking glasses at 2 p. Beaver
Pistols at 4 Beavers p. pistol	Tin shoes at 2 p. Beaver
Flints at 20 p. Beaver	Hawks bells at 16 p. Beaver
Sword blades at 2 p. Beaver	Ostrich feathers at 2 plumes p. Beaver
Bayonets at 1 p. Beaver	Iron wire handcuffs at 1 pair p. Beaver
Fire steels at 4 p. Beaver	Horns for men's heads at 1 pair p. Beaver
Files at 1 p. Beaver	Yarn gloves at 1 pair p. Beaver
Worms at 4 p. Beaver	Turkey Reds at 2 p. Beaver
Net lines at 2 p. Beaver	Cargo breeches at 3 Beavers p. pair
Awl blades at 8 p. Beaver	Broadcloth at 2 Beavers p. yard
Twine at 1 skein p. Beaver	Baize at 1 yard p. Beaver
Needles at 12 p. Beaver	Flannel at 1 yard p. Beaver
Fish hooks at 20 p. Beaver	Duffels at $1\frac{1}{2}$ Beavers p. yard
Knives at 8 p. Beaver	Blankets at 6 Beaver p. blanket
Spoons at 4 p. Beaver	Brandy at 4 Beavers p. Gallon
Stockings at 1 pair p. Beaver	Arrow heads at 12 p. Beaver
Shoes at 1 pair p. Beaver	Caps at 2 p. Beaver
Powder horns at 2 p. Beaver	Men's coats at 5 Beavers p. Coat edged and 4 Beavers p. coat plain
Hatchets at 2 p. Beaver	Youths' coats at 3 Beavers p. coat

<sup>1</sup> B.3/d/15, fos. 9d.-10.



TABLE 3: COMPARATIVE STANDARD OF TRADE<sup>1</sup>

Beaver being the chief commodity we receive in the trade we therefore make it Standard whereby we rate all other furs and commodities we deal in for trading

- 4 Martins as one Beaver
- 2 Otters as one Beaver unless they prove extraordinary  
good and then we rate them 1 p. Beaver
- 2 Foxes as one Beaver unless they prove as above mentioned  
and then we rate them 1 p. Beaver
- 1 Cat as one Beaver
- 1 Moose skin as two Beavers
- 1 Wolf as one Beaver
- 1 Black Bear as 2 Beavers
- 1 Cub as one Beaver
- 2 Quaequaehatch [Wolverine] as one Beaver
- 10 lb Feathers as one Beaver
- 1 lb Castoreum as one Beaver
- 2 Deers as one Beaver
- 4 fathom netting as one Beaver
- 8 pair Moose hooves as one Beaver

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, fo. 10.

TABLE 4: PROVISIONS<sup>1</sup>

Account of Provisions beginning July the first 1706

Remaining in the Factory as	1006 lbs raisins
p. last year's balance	567 lbs sugar
	1001 lbs molasses
74 bushels peas	68 gallons vinegar
10 bushels oatmeal	28 gallons oil
1 hogshead beans	1 bushel mustard seed
9 flitches bacon	60 cheeses
1 bushel rice	3 barrels salt
3 puncheons beef	16 firkins butter
1 $\frac{2}{3}$ barrels salt	$\frac{1}{2}$ barrel suet
	80 bushels malt
Account of provisions received	360 gallons strong beer
this year from England as p.	20 gallons wine
invoice as follows	10 gallons lemon juice
	34 lb pepper
21017 lbs flour	12 lb ginger
148 $\frac{3}{4}$ bushels peas	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ lb nutmegs
64 bushels oatmeal	1 lb mace
2 cwt biscuit bread	1 lb cloves
20 flitches bacon	2 lb cinnamon
1171 lbs prunes	1 case pickles
315 lbs currants	

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, fo. 54.

TABLE 5: STORES<sup>1</sup>

State of Stores to July the first 1706

Remains as p. last year's  
balance as follows

$\frac{1}{2}$ lb sealing wax	2 Ditto tankards
1 volume pocket book	1 Pint } Ditto pots
a lead standish <sup>2</sup>	1 Quart }
2 boxes wafers	3 large brewing kettles
The Company's seal	2 copper saucepans
2 large iron beams and scales	2 brass candlesticks
2 middling with brass and copper scales	1 chopping knife
2 pairs small brass scales	1 cleaver
1 set brass weights	500 corks for nets
12 half hundreds lead Ditto	220 leads for Ditto
2 Ditto 28 lb	2 pudding pans
2 Ditto 14 lb	4 frying pans
2 Ditto 7 lb	8 copper drinking pots
2 Ditto 4 lb	2 brass scummers
2 Ditto 2 lb	2 Ditto ladles
2 Ditto 1 lb	2 pair snuffers } brass
a Common Prayer Book	1 snuffer box }
40 yards tape	1 pepper } box brass
22 $\frac{7}{8}$ yards Holland duck <sup>3</sup>	1 flour }
20 crucibles	2 pairs small bellows
12 pewter dishes	1 tin dripping pan
30 Ditto plates	1 pair tongs
1 pewter porringer	4 sieves
1 Ditto salt cellar	1 brass mortar and pestle
1 box candles	1 stone Ditto
$\frac{1}{2}$ box garden seeds	507 shot for great guns
1 claw } hammer	4 halberds
1 hand }	4 lb iron wire
1 uphand }	1 ship bell
1 smoothing iron	1 dressed lamb skin
3 dark lanthorns	15 wooden sponges
2 wooden Ditto	6 sponge staves
4 tin Ditto	21 Ditto heads
1 Ditto Muscovy light <sup>4</sup>	14 rammer heads
16 swords	24 iron crows
	15 copper ladles

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, fos. 59–61.<sup>3</sup> Strong linen used for outer clothing for sailors etc.<sup>2</sup> Inkstand.<sup>4</sup> Lantern.



40 cartridge boxes  
 66 lb saltpetre  
 1 lb camphor  
 Some tow  
 9 lb cotton wick  
 230 Grenado shells  
 7 brass } blunderbusses  
 2 iron }  
 16 musketoons<sup>1</sup>  
 13 muskets  
 12 fuses  
 14 wooden mallets  
 2 lignum vitae rubbers  
 9 iron drifts  
 3 pairs slings  
 37 linstocks  
 250 lb match  
 161 bomb fuses  
 13 Saker guns<sup>2</sup>  
 8 falcon Ditto  
 7 falconet Ditto  
 10 carpenters chisels  
 2 fore } planes  
 2 smooth }  
 32 planes of all sorts  
 a Square and bevel  
 1 iron maul  
 6 augurs  
 2½ bars steel  
 1 hand vice  
 2 broad vices  
 2 pairs smiths bellows  
 1 iron beck<sup>3</sup>  
 ½ lb borax  
 3 pairs tailors shears  
 2 pickaxes  
 4 malt mills  
 2 winders and fly  
 1 pair hand screws  
 2 pairs marking irons  
 2 Meridian compasses  
 4 half-minute glasses  
 2 whole Ditto  
 2 dozen trucks and dead eyes  
 2 double blocks

18 wad hooks  
 8 half pikes  
 7 demi-culverin cartridge cases  
 6 minion Ditto  
 4 falcon Ditto  
 8 falconet Ditto  
 2 three pounders Ditto  
 43 priming horns  
 1 pair searchers for great guns  
 24 Grenado fuses  
 46 wooden partridge [shot ?] cases  
 16 formers<sup>4</sup>  
 1 cask nails  
 1500 sundry sorts Ditto  
 10 hoes  
 5 hand saws and rest  
 3 cross cut saws  
 5 ship saws with boxes and tiller  
 3 broad axes  
 4 spring locks  
 6 double spring Ditto  
 1 red Antiant<sup>5</sup>  
 6 scythes  
 1 cable and anchor  
 1 four inch hawser  
 Part 3 coils ratline  
 1 pair shoe stretchers  
 6 rakes  
 3 caulking irons  
 1 six inch hawser  
 1 lb emery  
 1 coal cutter  
 3 lasts and other shoe makers tools  
 1½ coil running rigging  
 1 coil 2 inch rope  
 1 Ditto 1½ inch Ditto  
 10 foot wainscot board  
 48 foot 2-inch plank  
 4 minion guns  
 9 lb white oakum  
 70 saker tin cases  
 30 minion Ditto  
 10 three pounders  
 50 Ditto for falcon  
 1 quart Aquafortis

<sup>1</sup> Short, large-bore muskets.<sup>2</sup> Sakers, falcons and falconets were light cannon of varying calibre.<sup>3</sup> Agricultural implement.<sup>4</sup> Chisels.<sup>5</sup> Ensign or flag.

1 snatch block  
 1 shoulder Ditto  
 24 six inch Ditto  
 12 three inch Ditto  
 24 four inch Ditto  
 7 cards  
 12 compass glasses

2 quarts varnish  
 1 coil ratline  
 1 skein marline  
 A Union Flag  
 2 canoes  
*Knight Frigate* and stores

Account of Stores sent this  
 year from England as p. invoice

12 large lines  
 80 beaver lines  
 2 dozen napkins  
 3 diaper tablecloths  
 2 reams paper  
 $\frac{1}{2}$  lb sealing wax  
 3 books con[taining] each one quire  
 24 foot window glass  
 24 rub stones  
 6000 twenty penny[weight] nails  
 4000 Ditto 10 penny[weight]  
 4000 Ditto 40 penny[weight]  
 6000 Ditto 4 penny[weight]  
 6 dozen pump ditto  
 6 large padlocks and staples  
 112 lb Genoa soap  
 66 bars iron weigh 30 cwt oqr 16 lb  
 1 faggot Flemish steel  
 3 firkins soft soap  
 3 boxes candles  
 50 rough walnut tree stocks  
 200 gun sticks  
 1 hundred weight cork  
 18 large spades  
 6 shovels  
 18 bowls  
 18 platters  
 2 thousand bricks  
 2 grindstones  
 1 hogshead lime

5 chaldron coal  
 1 box garden seeds  
 1 chest medicines  
 10 gross pipes  
 1 bottle ink  
 3 barrels pitch  
 2 Ditto tar  
 192 foot 2-inch plank  
 100 foot elm board  
 115 wainscot Ditto  
 1 back leather  
 one foresail, one foretopsail and  
     one mainsail  
 1 coil 2-inch rope  
 1 coil  $1\frac{1}{2}$  ditto  
 1 cable of 6 inches  
 2 dozen blocks with wedges and trunnels  
 a new boat  
 150 trunnels and 4 dozen wedges

Received from on board the *Hudsons Bay* not mentioned in the invoice:  
 a jacket, a pair of breeches, 2 flannel  
 waistcoats, 3 pairs of stockings and  
 2 pairs of yarn gloves which the  
 tailor left behind him as left the  
 ship.  
 1 pair of tailor's shears, 1 bed, 1  
 blanket, 1 rug and 1 pillow.





‘REMARKS’ ON THE FRENCH RAIDS ON  
CHURCHILL AND YORK, 1782

The 'Remarks' on the taking of Churchill and York by the French in 1782 form part of 'Observations on Hudson's Bay by Andrew Graham twenty five Years in the Company's Service, fifteen Years Chief Factor at Severn, York & Churchill Settlements' (E.2/12, pp. 622-42), and are in Graham's handwriting. For a detailed description of this volume, which seems to have been compiled in its present form between 1791 and 1793, and of other versions of Graham's 'Observations', the reader is referred to H[udson's] B[ay] R[ecord] S[ociety], Vol. XXVII, Glyndwr Williams, editor, *Andrew Graham's Observations on Hudson's Bay, 1767-1791* (London, Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1969), pp. 352-61. In the printed version of the 'Remarks' given here the capitalization and spelling of common names have been modernized, and some punctuation added, but place and proper names have been spelt as written.

## INTRODUCTION

In contrast to the Hudson's Bay Company's precarious hold on life during the wars of Louis XIV, when assaults by French land and sea forces almost put an end to the Company's existence as a fur-trading concern, the Bay posts remained undisturbed by enemies of the Crown for almost seventy years after the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713. The War of the Austrian Succession, the Seven Years War, and all save the final summer of the War of American Independence came and went without French armed forces turning their attentions to the remote, icebound shores of Hudson Bay. But in 1782 a French squadron commanded by the Comte de la Pérouse attacked and destroyed the Company posts at Churchill and York — a surprise stroke which dealt the Company a grievous, though by no means fatal, blow, but contributed little to the French war effort.

Most accounts of the short campaign in Hudson Bay come from French sources: letters and reports by La Pérouse and other French commanders;<sup>1</sup> La Pérouse's official dispatch, published in French and quickly translated into English;<sup>2</sup> brief journal entries by a French officer, du Tremblier;<sup>3</sup> and an account, written long after the event, by another of La Pérouse's officers, La Monneraye.<sup>4</sup> The fullest account from the English side was printed in *The Morning Chronicle and Daily Advertiser* in April 1783, almost certainly written by Edward Umfreville, whose evidence as an eyewitness of the capture of York Factory is vitiated by the malevolence which he was showing by this time towards the Company, and which was reflected even more strongly in his *Present State of Hudson's Bay* of 1790.<sup>5</sup> David Thompson picked up and reported some gossip about the surrender of Prince of Wales Fort when he arrived at Churchill in 1784, but this again has been shown to be inaccurate and misleading.<sup>6</sup> To these

<sup>1</sup> In the Bibliothèque Nationale, MSS. Fonds Français, Nouvelles Acquisitions, 9418, 9421; microfilm copy in Hudson's Bay Company Archives.

<sup>2</sup> *La Gazette de France* (Paris, October 1782); *The Political Magazine* (London, 1782), pp. 686–9; *The Annual Register* (London, 1783), pp. 115–18.

<sup>3</sup> Printed in Richard Glover, 'La Pérouse on Hudson Bay', in *The Beaver* (Winnipeg, Hudson's Bay Company), March 1951, pp. 44–6.

<sup>4</sup> 'Extrait du Journal de Pierre Bruno Jean de la Monneraye', in the *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie* (Paris, 1888), Serie VII, Vol. IX, pp. 268–83.

<sup>5</sup> See Richard Glover's Introduction to *H.B.R.S.*, XXVII, xxxi. A slightly shortened version of the 'Umfreville account' was also printed in *The Gentleman's Magazine*, Vol. LIII (London, 1783), pp. 523–4.

<sup>6</sup> See Richard Glover, 'The Witness of David Thompson', in *Canadian Historical Review*, Vol. XXXI (Toronto, 1950), pp. 25–38.



accounts we can now add the journal extending from 8 August to 2 September 1782 written by one of the Company men serving at Churchill. These 'Remarks' have survived only because of their inclusion by Andrew Graham in one of the later versions of his 'Observations'. There is nothing singular in the fact that Graham got hold of this account; although he had retired from active Company service in 1775 he remained an avid collector of information about events in Hudson Bay, and from his home in Edinburgh acted as agent at various times both for several of the servants in the Bay and for the Company.<sup>1</sup> The letters from Humphrey Marten, William Tomison and Samuel Hearne which he inserted at the end of the 'Remarks' are further evidence that Graham remained in touch with his old colleagues still serving in the Bay.

What is curious, and to an extent inexplicable, is that Graham hid the identity of the writer of this straightforward, uncontroversial narrative under the pseudonym of 'an Officer'. Nor has it proved possible to penetrate this rather unoriginal disguise. Four men were stationed at Churchill in the summer of 1782 who could be classed as officers: the chief factor, Samuel Hearne; his second, William Jefferson; the master of the fort's sloop, George Holt; and the surgeon, John Toogood Hodges. Various considerations seem to rule out all of these as Graham's informant, who reveals in the 'Remarks' that he sailed as a prisoner from Churchill in La Pérouse's flagship, *Sceptre*, but that after the squadron left York he was transferred to the Company sloop, *Severn*, in Hudson Strait, and returned in her to Britain. Hearne himself is mentioned in the entry for 1 September as someone distinct from the writer.<sup>2</sup> Hodges and Jefferson (assuming the latter to be the 'second Factor' mentioned in the entry of 11 August) made the passage from Churchill to York in one or other of the frigates, not the flagship. Holt reached England in his own command, the *Charlotte*.<sup>3</sup> A further element in this minor mystery is that although the author of the 'Remarks' seems to have been with Hearne throughout, Marten wrote that after the surrender of York he and two other Company officers taken prisoner at the same time (William Falconer and John Turnor) messed with the French officers and with Hearne — there is no mention of another Company officer from Churchill.<sup>4</sup> There the matter of the authorship must rest. Graham may have had his own reasons for

<sup>1</sup> See *H.B.R.S.*, XXVII, 349.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 88.

<sup>3</sup> See Hudson's Bay Company Archives A.1/142, p. 48. Subsequent classification numbers refer to Hudson's Bay Company Archives. After arriving at Plymouth, Holt experienced the misfortune of being captured by a French privateer while on his way to the Thames in the *Charlotte*. A.5/2, fos. 81, 102. The London press noted the arrival of the *Charlotte*, and that 'She brings the disagreeable news of the destruction of the Company's settlements there by Paul Jones [sic!]' *The Gentleman's Magazine*, Vol. LII (London, 1782), p. 501.

<sup>4</sup> See p. 91.

describing as an officer a man who in fact was not one; or it is possible that the writer at the time his narrative reached Graham (which could have been anything up to ten years after the events described) was by then of commissioned rank within the Company; or, despite the twist in the entry of 1 September, it may have been Hearne after all!

The narrative itself is a factual account within the normal traditions of the Company journals. It has little to say about the question which intrigued the critics of the Company at the time and has exercised historians since — whether a more strenuous effort could have been made to defend the two posts — but in contrast to the caustic comments of Umfreville and Thompson its matter-of-fact entries carry an air of conviction and authenticity. Scholarly reconstructions of the events at Churchill and York can be found elsewhere;<sup>1</sup> here only enough of a summary will be given to set the anonymous narrative in its context. The French force of a ship-of-the-line, two frigates, regular soldiers and their artillery which appeared off Churchill on 8 August was a formidable sledgehammer which smashed open the stone fortress with contemptuous ease. The great edifice of Prince of Wales Fort, built with so much labour and expense earlier in the century, was more imposing in outward appearance than in reality. Amateurishly designed, with only thirty-nine men stationed there, it was surrendered by Hearne without a shot being fired. Not only was the garrison tiny from any conventional military point of view (the fort contained more cannon than men to fire them), but it was composed of traders, not soldiers. As a Company factor wrote the next year about the men at another post, some of them had ‘never fired a Gun in their Lives’.<sup>2</sup> At York the story was repeated; there the hazard of the seaward approach rather than the post’s wooden palisades was the garrison’s best defence. Once the French managed to land, and then advanced within gunshot of the factory, Marten surrendered rather than risk a bloodbath, though it is noteworthy that he negotiated more precise and favourable terms than Hearne had done at Churchill.<sup>3</sup>

Although the factory at York was burnt to the ground, Marten had managed to get most of his furs away in the *King George*. At Churchill the living quarters were gutted, the fortifications partly demolished, and furs destroyed or seized by the French worth £14,580, or so Graham estimated.<sup>4</sup> The repercussions of the destruction went further than the

<sup>1</sup> Particularly in *H.B.R.S.*, Vol. XXII, E. E. Rich, *The History of the Hudson’s Bay Company 1670–1870*, Vol. II (London, Hudson’s Bay Record Society, 1959), pp. 83–9; and in Richard Glover’s Introduction to *H.B.R.S.*, Vol. XIV, E. E. Rich and A. M. Johnson, editors, *Cumberland House Journals and Inland Journal 1775–82*, First Series, 1775–79 (London, Hudson’s Bay Record Society, 1951), pp. lxxxiv–xcii. In these accounts for the first time the anonymous ‘Remarks’ from E.2/12 were used in addition to most of the material listed on p. 77, n. 1–6.

<sup>2</sup> B.3/b/20, fo. 20d.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 91.

<sup>4</sup> P. 89.

material damage. At Churchill the Chipewyan and 'Home' Indians dependent on the fort were left destitute and many starved; inland from York the subordinate posts of Hudson House and Cumberland House were in desperate straits, as the letters by Marten and Tomison which Graham included reveal. But it is appropriate that these letters, and another by Hearne, describe the resettling of both Churchill and York. The London Committee took the awful news of the destruction of two of its most important posts without flinching. Although the financial loss was serious enough for the Company to forego declaring a dividend until 1786, it set about the immediate re-establishment of both posts. Little more than a year after the reduction of the forts to smoking ruins Hearne and Marten had returned and erected temporary posts — a declaration of intent by the Company even though it took longer, particularly at Churchill, to repair the pattern of Indian trade torn apart by the French in 1782.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The best analysis of the aftermath of the raids is in *H.B.R.S.*, XXII, 113-16.



# REMARKS BETWIXT CHURCHILL FORT AND YORK FORT ON THEIR BEING TAKEN BY THE FRENCH A.D. 1782 BY AN OFFICER

Churchill River, 1782

8 August, Thursday. Wind east, a fresh breeze with clear weather. Eight canoes of Southern Indians<sup>1</sup> on the plantation with furs ready to trade after a band of Northern Indians<sup>2</sup> has traded that came in last night, and daily expects another leader with his band in order to trade for such necessities as they may stand in need of the ensuing winter. At half past two o' clock afternoon saw a sail in the offing, at three ditto another, soon after another which we immediately judged to be an enemy.<sup>3</sup> The people at the Fort employed loading the guns and preparing for their reception.<sup>4</sup> At 8 o' clock in the evening three ships, a seventy-four and two frigates,<sup>5</sup> came to an anchor about five miles from the Fort, at the same time they sent their boat within cannon shot to sound the river.<sup>6</sup>

9 August, Friday. Wind moderate with pleasant warm weather. At 2 o' clock in the morning saw six boats coming to the shore and to appearance they all seemed to be full of men. At seven ditto they landed on the bayside nearly within cannon shot of the Fort,<sup>7</sup> and soon after a young gentleman attended by a drummer came towards the Factory in order to acquaint the Chief Factor to surrender the Fort to the King of France; and after agreeing on such capitulations as Mr Hearne thought

<sup>1</sup> Western or Plains Cree.

<sup>2</sup> Chipewyan.

<sup>3</sup> Presumably on the grounds that Churchill was only visited by a single Company vessel each season.

<sup>4</sup> There is no mention here of the assertion (not improbable in itself) made in Umfreville, and supported by the statement of an old servant at Churchill many years later, that some of the garrison were away duck shooting. See W. S. Wallace, editor, *The Present State of Hudson's Bay . . . By Edward Umfreville* (Toronto, 1954), p. 69; L. J. Burpee, *The Search for the Western Sea* (Toronto, 1908), p. 164.

<sup>5</sup> The 74-gun flagship *Sceptre*, and two 36-gun frigates, *Astreé* and *Engageante*.

<sup>6</sup> Du Tremblier noted in his journal on the *Engageante*: 'We dropped anchor 1 league from the fort, then flying the English flag and pennon we lowered our ship's boat and our long boat. . . .' Glover, 'La Pérouse on Hudson Bay', p. 45.

<sup>7</sup> As Professor Glover has pointed out, the fact that the French remained just beyond the range of the fort's guns made nonsense of David Thompson's hearsay evidence that 'The men in the Fort begged of Mr Hearne to allow them to mow down the French Troops with the heavy guns loaded with grape shot, which he absolutely refused. . . .' Richard Glover, editor, *David Thompson's Narrative 1784-1812* (Toronto, Champlain Society, 1962), p. 87.

necessary, or could obtain both for Europeans and natives,<sup>1</sup> they were permitted to come within the Fort, for we were in no ways capable of defending the Settlement, three ships on one side the Fort and six hundred regulars on the other.<sup>2</sup> On their entering the Fort they hoisted French colours, and the keys of the warehouses and other offices thereunto belonging were immediately given to them. We were soon made acquainted that we were to go on board this night or tomorrow, so got a few necessities packed up in order to attend them. Nothing but a scene of destruction all over the Factory this whole day and in the evening five different places were set fire to. Two canoes of Upland Indians<sup>3</sup> came loaded with furs to the Fort which the French directly burnt after giving the natives a few goods. The paquet (i.e. two Indians with letters from York Fort) standing over the river, so we shall not hear from that quarter so soon.

10 August, Saturday. Wind variable in SW and NW quarters with fine pleasant weather. All of us went on board in the forenoon. The enemy employed bringing on board part of the furs, provisions, sheet-lead etc., also undermining the walls of the Fort in order to blow it up. At seven in the evening saw and heard part of the Factory blow up, at the same time many of our people felt the ship shake under them with the explosion. Cannon rendered unserviceable by spiking, breaking and burning the carriages.<sup>4</sup> The private men pilfering from us all they could lay hold of.

<sup>1</sup> La Pérouse insisted that the garrison surrendered, not on fixed terms, but 'à discrétion'. MSS Fonds Français, N.A., 9421, fo. 85d. According to La Monneraye, the garrison were allowed to keep only their own private possessions, and the next day's entry throws doubt on the effectiveness even of this concession. 'Extrait du Journal de la Monneraye', p. 278.

<sup>2</sup> Although this is without doubt much too high a figure, it is not easy to arrive at a definite figure for the number of soldiers at La Pérouse's disposal. Du Tremblier mentioned 150, certainly too small a figure (Glover, 'La Pérouse on Hudson Bay', p. 45); Umfreville wrote of 400 men, not necessarily all soldiers, entering the fort (Wallace, *Present State of Hudson's Bay*, p. 70); La Pérouse reported that he took on board for the expedition 150 men on his flagship and 140 on the two frigates, almost the same number as the total of 300, including fifty gunners, mentioned by the Marquis de la Taille, captain of the *Engageante* (MSS Fonds Français, N.A., 9421, fos. 85, 90). Undoubtedly the French, not knowing how few men were in the fort, were surprised at the lack of resistance they encountered, as La Pérouse's official report (in one of its English translations) reveals: 'The French, incapable of imagining the defenceless state of these forts, took a wonderful deal of unnecessary trouble, in landing their troops and artillery at guarded distances, and proceeding with the utmost caution in their approaches, under a full persuasion of meeting with that formidable resistance, which was so well to be expected in an attack upon English fortresses and garrisons. When they had proceeded in this manner within cannon shot of Fort Prince of Wales, astonished at the silence and solitude which prevailed, not a single man in any direction, they made a halt, and sent an officer to summon the fortress to surrender; in answer to which the gates were immediately thrown open, and, M. de la Perouse gravely informs us, that the governor and garrison surrendered at discretion.' *Annual Register*, p. 117.

<sup>3</sup> Simply Indians from the interior; for a much earlier use of this term see p. 51.

<sup>4</sup> There were forty-two cannon inside the fort, ranging from 6- to 24-pounders. See *H.B.R.S.*, XXVII, 242; Wallace, *Present State of Hudson's Bay*, 69. When William Christopher, captain of the Company ship *Prince Rupert*, arrived at Churchill at the end of the month he assumed that the fort had been taken by assault. He noted in his log: '... every thing of wood kind totally Demolished

11 August, Sunday. Wind WSW a gentle breeze and pleasant warm weather. The ships preparing to set sail for York Fort in order for its destruction. At nine in the morning the remainder of the Fort blew up and all the troops came on board their respective ships. In the afternoon the ships got under way and the surgeon<sup>1</sup> with nine of our men are on board the frigates, also the second Factor.<sup>2</sup> They behave with the greatest civility towards us. This day they eat our two horses which they shot and carried on board. They made good soup of them for dinner.

12 August, Monday. Wind WSW a moderate breeze. At five o'clock this morning saw a sail standing for Churchill River. This ship fired a gun and hoisted English colours in order to make us understand they were friends. Soon after she disappeared, and the *L'Engageante* of thirty-six guns Captain Caillie [La Taille] gave her chase.<sup>3</sup> This ship, *L'Sceptre* of seventy-four guns, Monsieur de La Peruse Commandant, and the *L'Astree* of thirty-six guns Captain Langterre proceeded to York Fort. Mr Hearne who is on board this ship delivered a letter to the Captain of the frigate to give to the Master of the Company's ship (in case it should be her) to give the natives at Churchill ammunition and to go inland as the Settlements will be burnt.

13 August, Tuesday. Wind NWbW fine warm weather, nothing remarkable this day. The shallops constantly sounding and signals flying from ship to acquaint each other of the different soundings.

14 August, Wednesday. Wind variable and pleasant weather. Saw the land at York Fort. Killed a polar bear and hoisted him on board, which they skinned and cut him up in mess pieces the same as they did our two horses.

15 August, Thursday. Wind ESE a moderate breeze with clear serene weather. Under way and at anchor at intervals. Two shallops and several boats continually sounding.<sup>4</sup> Several guns were supposed to be

only chimnies, walls and a few stoccades standing no guns mounted and a large breech in the N<sup>o</sup> side of the fort that the Enemy had made w<sup>th</sup> their cannon from Esquemay Pt. where I could plainly discover they had made the Attack.' C.1/904, fo. 38.

<sup>1</sup> John Toogood Hodges.

<sup>2</sup> William Jefferson.

<sup>3</sup> The English ship was the *Prince Rupert*. Christopher wrote in his log for 12 August: 'At  $\frac{1}{4}$  past 3 A.M. saw 3 Sail of Ships Bearing EbN abt. 3 Leagues & at the same time saw the Land but could not distinguish it plainly made the Ship clear for Engaging supposing them (as we very well might) to be Enemies. . . ' *Ibid.*, fo. 31.

<sup>4</sup> In his official dispatch La Pérouse wrote (to quote the English version): 'In this part of the enterprize they encountered natural difficulties, which seemed pretty well to supply the place of human resistance. The coast was full of rocky shoals; the depth of water not above six or seven fathoms at best; and the bottom everywhere foul and bad. In this dangerous navigation they were, as before, without any chart for their guidance, and the prisoners obstinately refused to give them the smallest information or direction whatever. Through these circumstances, besides great and continual danger to the ships, they spent nine days in a navigation of not many leagues; nor could they probably have at all succeeded, if it had not been for the useful assistance of some large, decked boats, which



heard from York Fort which we took from the different times they were heard to be salutes a Chief Factor had come out to that place.<sup>1</sup>

16 August, Friday. Wind as yesterday with hazy weather. Boats constantly reconnoitring the land and sounding. The frigate that is in company with us stood in for the land, and soon after she made a signal and this ship answered and followed after. At four o'clock in the afternoon saw a sail to windward, and at eight ditto she proved to be the other frigate that went in chase of the sail seen on Monday. My throat is so sore I can hardly speak and should it grow worse and I be obliged to lay by I fear much I shall grow lousy as that vermin is swarming all over. No wonder, supposed to be a thousand men on board this ship and many of them eat up with the scurvy so that two or three are every day thrown overboard.

17 August, Saturday. Wind easterly and hazy weather with small rain at intervals. The Captain of the frigate mentioned yesterday came on board and informed the Commadore that he kept sight of the ship he went in chase of nearly two hours and coming on foggy weather he soon lost sight of her. Soon after he steered for Churchill River. The Indians there on sight of him hoisted English colours, supposing it to be the Company's ship. He and several of his officers went on shore, saw the ruinous condition of the place, gave the natives ammunition etc. as mentioned on Monday last.<sup>2</sup> We having been laying off Cape Tatnam these three days past which is nearly in the fair-way for entering Hayse river and forty miles from York Fort. As the shallops are constantly plying to and again to the shore as also the boats. One of the former arrived at this ship and reported she came so nigh the shore as to perceive the Company's ship and sloop<sup>3</sup> laying in five fathom hole,<sup>4</sup> which is about eight miles from York Fort.

18 August, Sunday. Wind SSE fine pleasant weather. Land plain to be seen about ten miles distant from the ship. We laying at anchor in ten fathom water. One of the frigates and several boats went towards the shore as did the two Churchill shallops. My throat better.

they had found at Fort Prince of Wales, and which, leading the way, under the direction of some of their most able officers and seamen, with great caution and difficulty traced out a passage through the numberless rocks and shoals with which they were environed.' *Annual Register*, p. 117.

<sup>1</sup> Humphrey Marten, who arrived at York this day to take command from Matthew Cocking. B.239/a/81, fo. 2.

<sup>2</sup> According to du Tremblier, 'We found about 60 natives who were taking refuge in the fort which had not completely burned down. Among them were some who seemed dejected at the sight of the misfortunes which we had brought down upon them.' Glover, 'La Pérouse on Hudson Bay', p. 46.

<sup>3</sup> The *King George*, master Jonathan Fowler, and the *Severn* sloop.

<sup>4</sup> The anchoring place of Five Fathom Hole is shown on Robson's map; it was marked by a beacon, which could be cut down at times of danger.

19 August, Monday. Fine pleasant weather. Wind much the same as yesterday. The two shallops late last night with the boats that went toward the shore were seen coming back, and this morning they arrived in order to carry on shore troops and to go up Nelson River and to attack the Fort on that side, our ship preventing them going up Hayse river which is the most proper river. At eleven o' clock this morning the shallops and boats loaded with troops etc. from all the ships set off to attack York Fort. The three ships are now laying about one mile distant from each other, and I suppose about forty miles from York Fort. Our allowance of water is about three half pints per man for one day and very bad.

20 August, Tuesday. Wind SSE dark foggy weather. The wind blowing too strong, and at the same time making a swell that the boats etc. returned not being capable to land the troops. At two hours afternoon the three ships got under way to go nigher the shore, and at half past four ditto they anchored. Saw one of the Company's ships<sup>1</sup> laying in five fathom hole, scarcely to be seen with the naked eye.

21 August, Wednesday. Fine pleasant warm weather and calm. The shallops and boats loaded with troops went on shore in order to set fire to York Fort.<sup>2</sup> Ship river beacon bearing about SSW distant, about sixteen miles from us. God send us safe out of this climate and may we arrive soon in some part of Europe for the daily allowance of provisions is barely sufficient to keep life. Mostly about two ounces of beef or pork for one man per day, and when not that a few beans boiled in a little fresh water together with some maggoty biscuit almost capable to walk itself and a dram of bad brandy at each meal. I have got a severe cold.

22 August, Thursday. Wind NbE a gentle breeze with clear serene weather. At eleven in the morning got under way and anchored in twelve fathoms water. No account of news from the shore. Rats very numerous on board this ship, so that in the night they are running over our bodies.

23 August, Friday. Wind NNE a fresh gale with constant rain. Yards and topmasts struck. This breeze I expect will frighten our bold adventurers.

24 August, Saturday. ENE and moderate foggy weather. At seven in the evening saw a boat, and at ten ditto she arrived at this ship with the captain who had been on shore, brought the news that the road that led nearest towards York Fort was so swampy that they could not take with

<sup>1</sup> The *King George* again.

<sup>2</sup> Fowler wrote in his log for 22 August: 'About 6 P.M. 13 sail of boats of sizes pass'd us, and stood for the N<sup>o</sup> River. They went just to the No<sup>wd</sup>. of the Flatts; I fir'd a nine pound shot, at the largest boat, wearing a white pendant, but found it did not reach her.' C.1/386, fo. 26.

them their artillery<sup>1</sup> so left the colonel and soldiers to take the Fort. Old John Irwine<sup>2</sup> standing pilot for a number of dollars.

25 August, Sunday. Wind NbW. A strong gale<sup>3</sup> with hazy weather. At seven in the evening boats going to and again from the men of war. I wish they were done with this place, for I hear they are to proceed to Boston or France.

26 August, Monday. Wind and weather as yesterday with some small showers of rain at intervals. Above forty people have died on board this ship *L'Sceptre* since she came within the Straits by their own accounts. A large polar bear passed by this ship which they fired at and did not kill.

27 August, Tuesday. Wind and weather as yesterday. Early this morning one boat went from this ship *L'Sceptre* in order to go on shore to acquaint the Commander of the troops to make what haste he can, for it seems they intend to sail as soon as possible, this climate not agreeing with their constitution. At eight o'clock this morning one of the frigates stood in for the shore intending to capture the Company's ship and sloop laying in Five fathom hole, but when distant about eight miles from this ship she dropped anchor, and at the same time we espied a boat coming from the shore who brought the news of the Company's ship having proceeded for England last night,<sup>4</sup> and that York Fort and the *Severn* were taken on the twenty-fifth. They rejoice here to find York Fort so well supplied with all manner of provisions and clothing. They seem to take little or no notice of the furs or at least they understand nothing of their value. God send the Company's ship safe to England. Many people on board this ship are eat up with the scurvy and otherwise unhealthy, which makes it look dismal to a stranger.

28 August, Wednesday. Wind variable with pleasant weather. Late last night two boats arrived from the shore with troops and what provisions and cloth they could carry, and this morning the *Severn* sloop arrived along-side this ship with a load of provisions, stores etc., at the same time gave an account of Mr Marten being come out to York Fort this

<sup>1</sup> La Pérouse's official report gives some idea of the difficulties encountered by the French in their approach to York Factory: 'nor were the difficulties less when they arrived within sight of their object; for the rivers were full of sand-banks; the currents very violent; and the tides exceedingly rapid . . . on the 21st of August, in the evening . . . the boats anchored into two fathoms and a half water; but to their astonishment found themselves left dry by the tide in the morning; and the troops, leaving their mortars and cannon behind, were obliged to wade, with their muskets on their shoulders, through a soft mud, for a quarter of a league, to reach the shore.' *Annual Register*, p. 118. See also Marten's account, p. 90 *infra*.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 90, n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Across on the *Engageante* du Tremblier wrote: 'We have had a very unhappy day. Two of our cables broken, two of our anchors lost, our tiller bar broken at the mortaise. Having lost hope, we let go our sheet anchor, and dropped it to the bottom.' Glover, 'La Pérouse on Hudson Bay', p. 46.

<sup>4</sup> Fowler had told Marten on 21 August that he hoped to evade the larger French ships 'by running into shoal water' as he left the roadstead. B.239/a/81, fo. 2d.



year and Mr Cocking has returned in the ship, along with part of the homeward bound cargo. Mr William Lockey with three others, about the same time the ship sailed, set off with the old York Fort shallop supposed bound for Severn River, but I hear she is laying shore nigh ship river beacon, and her sails are tore and damaged.<sup>1</sup> Fourteen soldiers drowned in this attempt of the taking of York Fort: and I hear Mr Turner,<sup>2</sup> Master of the *Severn* sloop, is to pilot these ships out of the Straits: for which the Commodore is to make him a present of her to be his own property, and to carry along with him to England what prisoners she can conveniently carry.<sup>3</sup> Busy on board breaking up the Churchill shallops for firewood. *Severn* sloop set off from alongside in the evening, to bring on board a load of water. Robert Tenant is on board this ship not being capable to do duty in the sloop, having had the misfortune this last winter to lose part of his toes by the frost at York Fort. Poor man he has lost all his clothes as well as most of his Factory mates, who experienced such treatment from the private men. Several of our Churchill people have not a shirt left them. The Honourable Hudson's Bay Company have received a severe stroke in the Bay; for we hear Henley House is burnt down by accident, and three persons, Europeans, perished in the flames.<sup>4</sup> I hear that the small-pox has made its appearance amongst the natives that annually trade at York Fort, and its dependant settlements inland. God knows what will become of that able officer Mr Tomison and his people at Cumberland House. The above disorder has been brought by the Equestrian natives from Mexico, who trade with the Spaniards.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The four men survived, and made their way several hundred miles inland to Hudson House. See p. 93.

<sup>2</sup> John Turner.

<sup>3</sup> A list of men brought home on the *Severn* is in B.239/a/81, fo. 5. They included both factors, Hearne and Marten, who reported to the Company from Stromness on 18 October. See A.1/142, p. 54, which corrects the statement of Glover (based on Tyrrell) that Hearne arrived in Gosport, and that of Rich that he was taken to France in the *Sceptre*. See Richard Glover, editor, *A Journey from Prince of Wales's Fort in Hudson's Bay to the Northern Ocean . . . By Samuel Hearne* (Toronto, 1958), p. xxxvii; *H.B.R.S.*, XXII, 88.

<sup>4</sup> Thomas Hutchins at Albany had written to Matthew Cocking at York on 22 June 1782: 'Henley, the most unfortunate place in the Country is again destroyed, it was in a very ruinous condition and scarcely Tenable, so that the people were obliged to line the Bed places with Birch rind to keep out the wind and weather, this accidently catching fire by a Lamp in one of the Mens cabbins immediately set the whole place in a blaze and the building was consumed in a few hours; but so rapid were the flames that John Luitet, James Rowland and Robert Cromartie perished. Mr McNab and two Men escaped naked to an Indian Tent but were terribly froze, as you may easily imagine, as it happened about Midnight between the 12th and 13th of January when the weather was as severe as at any other period during the winter; all the effects belonging to the Company and private persons were destroyed, nothing was saved, even the Bell run into a shapeless mass.' B.239/b/42, fo. 14.

<sup>5</sup> Cocking gave further details in letters of August 1782 to other posts: 'On the 2d. July Mr. William Tomison with 22 English assisted only by 2 Indian Lads and a few Women, arrived. Mr. Tomison informed me that the Small Pox had destroyed most of the Indians Inland. The whole tribe of U'Basquiou Indians (their former assistants) are extinct except one Child, and that of the

29 August, Thursday. Wind WSW a moderate breeze with pleasant weather. Boats returning to and again from the shore with goods etc.

30 August, Friday. Wind EbN a strong gale with a continuance of much rain. At 2 o' clock in the morning, we prisoners were called on deck, and ordered to go on board the frigate that is going for France, with all belonging us; which is not much they having barely left us clothing to cover our bodies. But the weather proving so bad only twenty got on board, leaving behind eleven who are to go on board the first fine weather. In the night, thunder, lightning and rain. Several geese were like to have alighted in this ship, and very often small birds did alight.

31 August, Saturday. Wind WNW a strong gale with clear weather. In the afternoon many flights of snow wild geese of different species, flying in amazing numbers preparing to leave this coast.

1 September, Sunday. Wind WNW a gentle breeze with clear pleasant weather. Six prisoners went on board the *L'Astree* frigate so that there remain in this ship Mr Hearne with several others, your humble servant included. All the craft belonging to the ships etc. came from the shore with troops and goods. Much about the same time the Factory was burnt.

2 September, Monday. Very pleasant weather. All the craft came to the ships with the remainder of the troops etc. also all the people belonging to York Fort. The ships weighed anchor and set sail in order to proceed through the Bay and Straights, the sloop in tow. Messrs Martin and Falconer and their surgeon are to stay in this ship until the *Severn* sloop is at liberty. A tent was erected some distance from York Fort, which the French officer ordered to be filled with ammunition etc. for the benefit of the poor natives.<sup>1</sup> On the sixth we made the Straits; the tenth, thirty-three of us went in the sloop, giving them three cheers, and took our departure, nearly off Cape Resolution, in order to proceed to Great Britain. The seventeenth we saw a sail which we took to be one of the Company's ships distant from us about nine miles. We hoisted our flag at the top mast-head in order to shew we were in distress. At two

several Tribes of Assinnee Poet Pegogomew and others bordering on Saskachiwan River he really believed not one in fifty have survived. He said that some of the Indians who went to war last year having met with a Tent of Snake Indians who were ill of the Small Pox, they killed & Skalp'd them, by this means they recieved the disorder themselves, and most of them died on their return, the few that reached their own Parts communicated the Disorder to their Countrymen and since then it has run with a great rapidity through the whole Country above here. . . . ' *H.B.R.S.*, Vol. XV, E. E. Rich and A. M. Johnson, editors, *Cumberland House Journals and Inland Journals 1775-82*, Second Series, 1779-82 (London, Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1952), p. 298.

<sup>1</sup> Marten's journal recorded: 'The French Commander order'd a kind of Tent to be erected at the sloops creek to put provisions and stores in for the distressed Indians to prevent them from starving should any come to this place and he very politely told me I was welcome to anything in the Fort that would be of service to me or my officers.' B.239/a/81, fos. 3d.-4.

o' clock afternoon the same day we lost sight of her. On 14 October we made the Baira Islands, and on the 15th we arrived in Stromness, after having an agreeable passage. The *King George* only arrived in the night before us, and the *Prince Rupert* a quarter of an hour after us.

Furs etc. carried off and destroyed by the French Troops who burnt Churchill Fort A.D. 1782 Viz.

7,607 Beaver Skins	221 Buck Deer Skins
187 Doe Deer Skins	9 Fawn Skins
3 Elks Skins	1 Polar Bear Skin
9 Black Bear Skins	1 Cub Bear Skin
3 Buffalo Skins	4,100 Marten Skins
9 Wolf Skins	2 Wejack Skins
102 Wolverine Skins	207 Cat Skins
110 Otter Skins	120 Arctic Skins
7 Grizzled Foxes	4 Blue Foxes
54 Red Foxes	5 Gray Foxes
72 Musquashes	30 Jackasses
329 lb. weight of Goose feathers	17,350 Goose Quills

160 lb. weight Castorum

The value of the above furs etc. by a moderate calculation is £14,580.

An extract from a letter of Mr Humphrey Marten, Chief at York Fort, on its being destroyed by a French force in August Anno Domini 1782.<sup>1</sup>

London, 5 November 1782

My Good Friend

Had I not greatly exerted myself not half so much of the cargo would have been got on board as was sent; for while the French were filling their boats with men for landing I went in my boat on board Captain Fowler, to hold a Council in order to determine on the best methods to be pursued. Accordingly it was agreed as there was not water for the ship to get up to the Fort to assist in its defence the utmost expedition should be used to send water (much wanted) and as many furs on board as possible. This was done although the French boats were in the North

<sup>1</sup> This letter, and the three which follow, all appear to have been written to Graham, not to the author of the 'Remarks'.



River [Nelson] before I could get to the Fort. They landed above the burnt-tent and had old John Irwine for their guide;<sup>1</sup> to him they paid a considerable number of dollars: but as they found the road bad which he pointed out (which was the best) the French marched seven miles higher in hopes to find a better: which not finding they marched back again cursing the country and the men that sent them to it. This took up two days, during which time the weather was very rainy and blew very hard. This delay gave us an opportunity to get the ship away the next night.<sup>2</sup> The French lay in the woods leading to Jacobs Folly, and in the twenty-fourth in the morning and the fourth day after landing were seen from the Fort in the great path leading to Robertson's Beacon.<sup>3</sup> All that last night and this day the weather was very rainy, the water in the path was very deep yet they came through it with great strides in several small divisions, and many straggling parties. The greatest number of them were in white uniforms the rest of the regulars in blue, these last belonged to the train. Their number appeared to be about seven hundred.<sup>4</sup> When about four hundred yards from the Fort they all filed off to the eastward as we thought to take advantage of the shelter of the wood-piles, which were two in number, and some timber would give them. In the willows they fresh primed their pieces. Soon after they approached the Fort. Their numbers appeared so formidable that it was thought prudent to demand a parley:<sup>5</sup> I therefore called to them to halt, this they disregarded: I then

<sup>1</sup> John Irvine joined the Hudson's Bay Company in 1771, and was employed as a sailor on the slooping voyages north from Churchill. He was taken prisoner at Churchill in August 1782, and despite this evidence of his treachery was later paid his wages up to the day of his capture. A.16/11, fo. 91.

<sup>2</sup> Fowler's log for 24 August read: 'Near 9 P.M. we took up our Anchor, and made Sail, for England; thinking it much less Risque, to endeavour to pass the Enemys ships in the night; than to lay in 5 fath<sup>m</sup>. hole and perhaps be cutt out by their Boats after they have taken the Factory.' C.1/386, fo. 28.

<sup>3</sup> Robson's, no doubt. The path was probably that indicated on Robson's map as an 'Indian Track', which would seem to be that used by David Thompson in 1785 when he crossed the Nelson River 'to the south shore and landed at a path of four miles in length through woods of small pines, on low, wet ground to York Factory, thank good Providence.' In his edition of Thompson, J. B. Tyrrell added a footnote: 'This path or track is still used in crossing from the Nelson to the Hayes river at York Factory, but the land is so wet and boggy that it is always avoided when it is possible to go round the point of marsh between the two rivers in canoes.' J. B. Tyrrell, editor, *David Thompson's Narrative of his Explorations in Western America 1784-1812* (Toronto, Champlain Society, 1916), p. 347.

<sup>4</sup> A considerable exaggeration — as far as soldiers were concerned 250 would be nearer the mark. See MSS Fonds Français, N.A., 9421, fo. 86. In his journal Marten referred to 'about 3 or 400 of the Regiments of Armignac Auxerrois & line with Artillery & Seamen in all about 700 Men. . . .' B.239/a/81, fo. 3.

<sup>5</sup> Marten's account may be compared with that written (probably) by Umfreville: 'About 10 o'clock this morning the enemy appeared before our gates; during their approach a most inviting opportunity offered itself to be revenged on our invaders, by discharging the guns on the ramparts, which must have done great execution; but a kind of tepid stupefaction seemed to take possession of the Governor at this time of trial, and he peremptorily declared that he would shoot the first man who offered to fire a gun. Accordingly, as the place was not to be defended, he, resolving to be beforehand

told them if they did not halt I must fire on them. They did halt. Flags of truce were hoisted, a parley entered on and a letter delivered to me demanding the delivery of the Fort in two hours, and threatened the severest vengeance should the surrender of the Fort be delayed for a single day. They said they knew our force, and had one so strong it would be impossible for us to prevent their success: that if I persisted all the blood shed would be imputed to my obstinacy and the consequence would be dreadful, as it would be impossible to restrain the fury of the soldiers, if once let loose. The terms they offered in the summons were security to our persons and private property. I said I could not, nor would not deliver up the Fort on these terms, but if they agreed to the proposals I then offered them I would deliver the Fort to them. I then gave them a paper in which I demanded that all the Company's servants should be treated with the utmost humanity, should be considered as prisoners of war, have provisions equal to the subjects of his most Christian Majesty according to their rank and be exchanged by the first cartel, that the officers should keep their side arms and be fully secure in their private property. That the natives in and about the Fort should be kindly treated and not in the least molested, but suffered to go where they please. These with a few other articles were agreed on. Then I delivered up the Fort. The French took possession and behaved with much politeness, but as they had by accident lost five boats in which twenty-seven men were drowned,<sup>1</sup> their hurry to leave a country so disgusting to them rendered it impossible to secure one half of private property. Messrs Falconer, Turner, Hearne and your humble servant messed with the officers on all occasions at one large table. I was on board the

with the French, held out a white flag with his own hand, which was answered by the French officer's shewing his pocket-handkerchief.

Under the sanction of this flag of truce, a parley took place, when the Governor received a summons wrote in English. In this summons two hours were granted to consult about our situation; but this indulgence was made no use of, and the place was most ingloriously given up in about ten minutes, without one officer being consulted, or a council assembled; so that this Fort, which might have withstood the united efforts of double the number of those by which it was assailed, in an attack with small arms, was surrendered to a half-starved wretched group of Frenchmen, worn out with fatigue and hard labour, in a country they were entire strangers to.' Wallace, *Present State of Hudson's Bay*, p.67.

There is little doubt that Marten was intimidated by the appearance and determination of the French despite their lack of artillery, but again it must be stressed that neither he nor his men were soldiers. Nor was York intended to withstand assault from European regular troops. A dozen years before Andrew Graham had noted that despite the fort's 'handsome' appearance it 'is greatly discommoded by the unnecessary outhouses that are now so thick set in front of the fort, and half way between it and the outer gate, that they obstruct the sight from the fort; and if we were attacked either by Indians or Regulars might be easy set on fire, as those sheds including the two Cook Rooms, Coopers Shop, Carpenters Shop and Smiths Shop etc. runs in a direct line 200 feet and covers the whole front, so that our close quarters are at present useless as no gun from the loop-holes would do execution.' *H.B.R.S.*, XXVII, 249-50.

<sup>1</sup> Fifteen according to Umfreville. Wallace, *Present State of Hudson's Bay*, p. 69.

Commodore eleven days, and thirty-three on board the *Severn* sloop in my passage to Orkney. The hardships I went through Mr John Ballanden can inform you.

Copy of a letter from Mr Humphrey Marten on his resettling York Fort the following year.

York Fort or rather where it once stood  
20 September 1783

Good Friend

After a long and tedious passage occasioned by foul wind, ice and fogs, we landed here the 15th at noon. Our poor countrymen had been down from Hudson and Cumberland Houses: they were returned despairing of the ship's arrival. While on the plantation a noble log tent was erected with a smaller one within it: in the latter we found about 6000 made beaver in different furs, and a cask of castorum: the manner the furs were left did them honour.<sup>1</sup> Poor Mr Tomison, I admire and pity him: I will forward your letter to him, you formerly knew his worth, a prudent and able officer indeed. We met on the plantation several Indians of your acquaintance: I offered them treble the usual pay to follow Mr Tomison, as he had left the plantation only seven days before our arrival, but not a man would stir, as they said the season was coming on when ice and bad weather put an end to canoe work. We found your gate standing and are erecting our temporary house to correspond with it. Part of the slip was standing and many of the palisadoes, sundry casks of provisions and salt. The small-pox has cut off the whole Bungee Indians<sup>2</sup> and all the Nelson River ones.

To explain what Mr Marten means by 'our poor countryman' I shall give an abstract of Mr William Tomison's letter to me, dated York Fort 14 August 1784.

Dear Sir,

Indeed I must say had proper caution been taken, a great part of the

<sup>1</sup> Tomison described the construction of the 'tent' in his journal for 4 September 1783: 'The Men Employed Weather boarding a Tent within the other, over the Furs, so that no Weather will hurt them providing the Indians do not pull it down.' B.87/a/6, fo. 44d.

<sup>2</sup> Chippewa or Ojibwa, described by Graham as inhabiting 'the country from the Grand Portage north as far as Port Nelson River; and from the Bay side to Christianeux Lake [Lake Winnipeg].' *H.B.R.S.*, XXVII, 204.



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Company's effects might have been saved by transporting it up the river as they had time enough to have done it. On 3 October Mr Lockey and three more arrived at Hudson's House, who made their escape after the place surrendered.<sup>1</sup> I embarked from Hudson's House 16 May 1783 and arrived at Cumberland House the 20th, where we passed our time till 22 June; then embarked for the ruins with 6000 made beaver, which place we arrived 1 August,<sup>2</sup> where we passed our time away in hunting deer up the river and killing small birds in the marsh until 8 September. Then giving up all hopes of any assistance we embarked for inland with the scanty allowance of a hogshead and a half of salt venison which was divided betwixt twenty-eight men for a journey of five weeks. Indeed some of the men that were not so good stewards as the others eat some parchment elk skins and the rotten pease that was lying on the plantation. After a passage of five weeks and two days we arrived safe at Cumberland House where thank God we found all well. I left 2000 beaver in goods on remains which were all traded for furs and provisions, but finding 7000 lb. weight of provisions were not sufficient to maintain thirty men I applied to Mr William Holmes,<sup>3</sup> a Canadian trader, for a supply of goods to procure provisions for the men which he granted as follows. Rum sixteen gallons. Leaf tobacco seventy-eight pounds weight. Powder sixty-three pounds weight. Vermilion two pounds weight. Knives three dozen and three fishing nets for which I offered him a draft on the Company for any sum he should think proper; which he refused. He took for the goods 526 good parchment beaver, which I thought was rather too much.

An abstract of a letter from Mr Samuel Hearne on his resettling Churchill.

Churchill River 4 September 1784

The house we brought out in frame was soon erected, but the winter came on so fast that it was not in our power to brignog<sup>4</sup> it last autumn,

<sup>1</sup> See p. 87. Hudson House had been established on the Saskatchewan upriver from Cumberland House by Tomison and Robert Longmoor in 1779.

<sup>2</sup> 6 August according to Tomison in B.87/a/6, fo. 41d.

<sup>3</sup> Born in Ireland, William Holmes was one of the most active and hardest of the Canadian traders. He arrived in Canada soon after the conquest, and was on the Saskatchewan by the 1770s. He became a founding partner of the North West Company in 1779, and in this period was often mentioned in the Hudson's Bay Company inland journals as he traded on or near the Saskatchewan. He was, William Tomison wrote feelingly in 1780, 'a proud saucy fellow', much given to threatening his Hudson's Bay rivals in a 'Daring insulting manner'. *H.B.R.S.*, XV, 86, 92; see also W. S. Wallace, *Documents relating to the North West Company* (Toronto, Champlain Society, 1934), p. 458.

<sup>4</sup> To build and strengthen with bricks in a timber framework.



so that we had only half inch weather boarding between us and the weather all the winter.<sup>1</sup> Consequently it was very cold, even worse than a skin tent when pitched in close woods. All my wines froze and split the bottles and casks that contained it. Our salted provisions froze so solid that we could not separate it any more than the hardest ice. We were obliged to strip off the staves of the casks and put a whole barrel into water at one time, to perform which we were under the necessity of having large nets made for that use. On our arrival here we did not find any Indians, but on 27 September four of our home natives came on speculation and carried back the news of our once more visiting those parts, but alas our arrival was too late, for near one half of them were starved to death in the winter in our absence.<sup>2</sup> As for Northern Indians I did not see one till 2 May, since which I have had in all to the amount of forty, but all of them were so poor that my whole trade only amounted to 1140 $\frac{2}{5}$  made beaver. The great leader Metonabee was so affected when he heard Churchill Fort was destroyed that he hung himself,<sup>3</sup> saying he would not live any longer as he was sure I was dead. Poor man! He was a stranger to the lenity of European warriors, but naturally thought the French had taken us all out to sea into deep water and murdered us, or threw us into the sea.

<sup>1</sup> 'A brown paper building', Hearne called it elsewhere. B.42/b/26, fo. 9.

<sup>2</sup> Hearne wrote to John Thomas at Moose on 27 December 1783: 'Sickness and famine has made such Havock amongst my home Indians during my absence that out of 69 that I left all well only 32 is arrived here safe out of which there is only 6 Men & Boys that can lift a Gun, the remainder being all Women and Children. . . .' H.B.R.S., XVII, E. E. Rich, editor, *Moose Fort Journals 1783-85* (London, Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1954), p. 226.

<sup>3</sup> In his published account of 1795 Hearne added: 'This is the more to be wondered at, as he is the only Northern Indian who, that I ever heard, put an end to his own existence. The death of this man was a great loss to the Hudson's Bay Company, and was attended with a most melancholy scene; no less than the death of six of his wives, and four children, all of whom were starved to death the same Winter, in one thousand seven hundred and eighty-three.' Glover, *Hearne's Journey*, p. 228.

JAMES TATE'S JOURNAL  
1809-12

James Tate's journal, classified as the Eagle Lake Journal 1809-12 (B.57/a/3), consists of twenty-three sheets (folios 3-48) of unlined paper measuring  $15\frac{3}{4} \times 12\frac{1}{2}$  inches, folded to half-size and sewn through the centre into a marbled paper cover. The watermark is 'L MUNN KENT 1810' opposite the seated figure of Britannia within a double circle surmounted by a crown. Folios 3, 46d.-48d. are blank. A sheet of unlined paper measuring  $10 \times 16$  inches folded into half-size has been inserted between the front cover and fly-leaf. This contains a brief summary of the main events recorded in the journal, and is in a different, clerical hand from the journal entries. Folios 4-46 contain the journal written throughout in the same hand; the date of the watermark is evidence that this copy of the journal was written after the events it described, probably on Tate's return to England in 1812. The marbled front cover bears the inscription, 'James Tate Journal 1809 to 1812'. The manuscript is listed as No. 281 in the 'Catalogue of Library &c' (A.64/52, p. 42) commenced about 1815. In the printed version of the journal given here the capitalization and spelling of common words have been modernized, and some punctuation added, but place and proper names have been spelt as written.



## INTRODUCTION

The incident at Eagle Lake in September 1809 in which the Northwester Aeneas Macdonell was shot dead came as the culmination of two decades of strenuous if intermittent rivalry between the Hudson's Bay Company and its Canadian competitors in the region north and northwest of Lake Superior. As the traders of the reorganized North West Company moved across this area in the 1780s on their way to the lucrative trapping grounds of the Saskatchewan and Athabasca, so the Hudson's Bay Company probed southward from its posts at the 'Bottom of the Bay' towards the vital canoe route of the rival Company. From Lake Superior the Northwesters' brigades tracked west along La Vérendrye's old route of a half-century earlier: through Rainy Lake and Lake of the Woods, to the post of Bas de la Rivière at the southern end of Lake Winnipeg, and then on towards the lower Saskatchewan. The intricate waterways and rocky stretches between Lake Superior and Lake Winnipeg at the beginning of this long westward trail no longer formed an important fur-bearing area, but the region played another and essential role in the grand strategy of the Canadian fur trade. Rainy Lake, Portage de l'Ile on the Winnipeg River, and Bas de la Rivière, were staging posts for the brigades; there supplies from Montreal were collected and kept, wild rice and other country provisions were brought in, and all far enough north to avoid the ever-present danger after 1782 that revisions of the frontier might bring the fur-traders' routes under American control.

To the Hudson's Bay Company, determined by the last quarter of the eighteenth century to meet the Northwester threat on all fronts, this sensitive area offered a tempting target. In 1785 Duncan Cameron found that in the Nipigon department 'there was then no opposition from Hudson's Bay or anywhere else',<sup>1</sup> and he could run his canoes unchallenged from Lake Nipigon to Lake Winnipeg by way of Lac Seul, Red Lake and the upper Pigeon River. But the next year the Hudson's Bay Company drove a wedge pointing directly at this route when it established Osnaburgh House far inland from Albany at Lake St. Joseph. In the 1790s this pioneer establishment was followed by several other posts which swung in an arc from northwest to southwest, pivoting on Osnaburgh House: Cat Lake, Ball Lake (Escabitchewan), Indian Lake (Wepineban), Red Lake, Portage de l'Ile, Rainy Lake, Lake of the Woods, Lake Nipigon. This roll call of new establishments looks more impressive

<sup>1</sup> L. R. Masson, *Les Bourgeois de la Compagnie du Nord-Ouest* (Quebec, 1890), II, 243.

on paper than it was on the ground; most were small temporary posts, and the Company journals for the period reveal a continual and confusing process of building and rebuilding, abandoning, moving and renaming of posts. But the reality of the challenge from Hudson Bay was undoubted, and it was met in kind by a growing number of Canadian posts in the area, often alongside the Hudson's Bay establishments.

At first the competition, though keen, was often friendly; at Red Lake, for example, servants of the two rival posts exchanged hospitality, played football with each other, and celebrated Christmas Day and (inevitably) St Andrew's Day together.<sup>1</sup> A noticeable change came with the union in 1804 of the two powerful Canadian concerns, the North West Company and the XY Company, which in this area as elsewhere turned their joint resources against their London-based competitor. In August 1805 John Hodgson, Chief at Albany, wrote: 'Our Inland Trade has experienced very great Opposition this Year, and we find the 2 Companies are joined and now oppose the Hudsons Bay Cos. Servants with their joint power, they have poured in such a number of Traders now in the Nipigon, that unless there is one of the Company's Servants with every family of Indians to take the Beaver out of the hole after the Indian has staked them in, they are likely not to get them . . .'.<sup>2</sup> When the Hudson's Bay Company appointed William Corrigan to Red Lake for the 1805-6 season he faced tough and ruthless opposition, with the former XY proprietor John Haldane leading a force of 54 men against his own strength of eleven. In the spring of 1806 the Hudson's Bay post was broken open by the Northwesters, who stole furs and goods, and in another incident Corrigan was forced at pistol point to 'lend' the opposition a cask of gunpowder.<sup>3</sup> Partly as a result of this intimidation the Hudson's Bay Company found it impossible to persuade men to serve at Red Lake, and so abandoned the post, as also the temporary post farther north at Eagle Lake, where William Thomas had traded during 1805-6.

Other posts were kept manned, but by 1809 Hodgson had decided to rearrange his forces in order to concentrate thirty men at Lac Seul in opposition to Haldane's post there. He explained the position in a letter of July 1809: 'This last year we have not experienced any great provocations from the Canadians indeed most of the hitherto violent opposition we have had, has been at Lake Sal [Seul] and its vicinity from a Mr. Haldane and a set of abandoned wretches who stick at nothing short

<sup>1</sup> See, for example, Hudson's Bay Company Archives B.177/a/1, *passim*. Subsequent classification numbers refer to Hudson's Bay Company Archives.

<sup>2</sup> B.3/b/41, fo. 25d.

<sup>3</sup> See B.3/b/41 fos. 23d., 25d.; B.3/b/42, fo. 21; B.239/a/113, fos. 26, 27; B.3/a/109, 14 July 1807.

of murder, they are too numerous for us and of course we act generally on the defensive, and live in hopes the Honorable Committee will give us the means in time to counteract their efforts which increases on us every year.<sup>1</sup> Because men and supplies had been left scattered around the outposts Hodgson was unable to put his new strategy into effect in 1809, and instead decided to support the existing outposts, and to re-establish the post at Eagle Lake: 'in all 13 Boats and 70 men besides there is already Inland above Osnaburgh 20, which makes the whole complement of men above Osnaburgh House 90, and have therefore hopes if all goes well, to receive an addition to their Trades next year.'<sup>2</sup>

The post at Eagle Lake was entrusted to William Corrigan, an Orkneyman who had been in the Company's service for fifteen years, and since leaving Red Lake had been in charge at Indian Lake. He was allocated three boats and sixteen men for the task, and arrived at Eagle Lake from Osnaburgh House on 24 August 1809.<sup>3</sup> There he began building a storehouse and a dwelling-house 50 feet by 20 feet, but he was not left undisturbed for long. His journal entry for 31 August notes: 'By an Ind.<sup>n</sup> that Came last night I am informed, that there is a Number of Canadians coming from Lake La Plie and Lake Saul to winter at this place. . . .'<sup>4</sup> The Lac Seul contingent arrived on 14 September, led by Aeneas Macdonell, breathing fire and fury if Corrigan's journal is to be trusted: 'a Mr Mcdonall arrived at this place from Lake Saul with a Large Canoe, 2 small ones and 9 men, 2 Indians going from our House and that he stoped in sight of the House, he said to them he was coming here to spill Blood.'<sup>5</sup> The next day Jacques Adhémar arrived from Rainy Lake (Lac la Pluie) with two canoes and six men, making the numerical strength of the two concerns roughly equal. For what followed the reader is referred to James Tate's journal, which begins at this point, the afternoon on 15 September, shortly after the arrival of Adhémar and his men. Tate's account is detailed and explicit (although he was not an eye-witness of the actual shooting of Macdonell by John Mowat), and it is supported by the known injuries received by the three Hudson's Bay

<sup>1</sup> B.3/b/45, fo. 26d.

<sup>2</sup> B.3/a/111, fo. 31.

<sup>3</sup> Eagle Lake is now named Moar Lake. It is in latitude 52°00'N., longitude 95°07'W., on the upper reaches of the Berens River near the Ontario-Manitoba border. The earliest mention of it as Eagle Lake comes in 1805, when the Company established its first post there; it is marked thus on the Arrowsmith maps of the period, and it continued to be known by that name for the rest of the century (see, for example, the Annual Report of *The Geological Survey of Canada*, New Series, Vol. VII, 1894, Ottawa, 1896, p. 24F). It was renamed presumably on account of the multiplicity of Eagle Lakes (78 others in Ontario alone according to the 1962 edition of the *Gazetteer of Canada*); and seems to have derived its new name from John Moar, a Hudson's Bay Company servant who in the 1880s was in charge of Little Grand Rapid post about a dozen miles westward of Eagle Lake, and often sent servants to Eagle Lake to fish. See B.18/a/4, fo. 11; B.18/a/5, fo. 3; B.18/e/1.

<sup>4</sup> B.57/a/2, fo. 1.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, fo. 1d.



men wounded in the affray, and in a more general way by the aggressive, often reckless violence Northwesters had shown in similar situations. The only rival version of the incident which has been found is contained in a letter from Duncan Cameron, writing from Bas de la Rivière (Fort Alexander) to the Hudson's Bay servant Thomas Bear, 'Master of an Outpost from Pabana River', on 3 October 1809:

I must inform you that it is a Rule with the North West Company never to make any of their neighbours dull for want of Company — we never shun our neighbours however terrific they may attempt to make themselves — as I have always been a fair dealer and a lover of Peace with my fellow subjects. I am sorry to inform you that we may now look on you as Enemies instead of fellow subjects, and we'll certainly be obliged to Treat you as such if you don't keep within due bounds — a most rascally and infamous Murder was committed on the person of Mr. Angus [sic] McDonald a nigh relation of mine at Eagle Lake on the 16th of last month by the men under the charge of that Coward and Villain (Wm. Corrigan) I call him Coward because I know him by self experience to be such, and I call him Villain because his general conduct proves him to be one.

The Villainous deed was committed without any other provocation on our side than that the Deceased went to Corrigan's landing place for one of his Indians that went in with Mr Haldane from Lake St Anns; immediately 3 Armed men came and attacked the Deceased who had no other Arms on him but his Hanger, with which he defended himself like a brave man till he wounded two of the Cowardly Villains, when a fourth levelled his Gun at him and shot [sic] dead on the Spot. Another Ruffian was just going to shoot Mr. Adhemar, but as providence would have it one of our Men was nigh enough to prevent the fatal stroke by laying hold of an Ax with which he broke the Villains Arm above the Elbow which made him miss his aim or otherwise they would have Shot two on the Spot.

It is evident that this atrocious action was with premeditated design, as they all at once came with Arms when no one offer'd them the least insult — but I hope they will soon meet with the punishment due to their Heinous Crime...<sup>1</sup>

The Canadian response to the killing came on 25 September when Haldane, Adhémar and Archibald McLellan arrived back at Eagle Lake

<sup>1</sup> B.3/b/46, fo. 32.

with twenty men and took John Mowat into custody. He was accompanied by two of the other Company servants at the post, James Tate and Robert Leask (the latter to be replaced in the spring by Corrigan himself), and all three were taken to the North West Company post at Rainy Lake where they spent the winter. At Eagle Lake, Corrigan, in poor health, passed an equally nervous and cheerless winter with the Northwesters close at hand, though after two incidents in October in which armed Canadians seized furs and supplies being brought by Indians to the Hudson's Bay post<sup>1</sup> there was no more violence. News of Macdonell's death reached Albany in letters from Corrigan at the end of December,<sup>2</sup> but as Hodgson made clear in a journal entry which showed a curious mixture of irritation and understanding no help could be sent to Eagle Lake:

Having last Summer fitted out the several Posts sent above O[snaburgh] H[ouse] in a very respectable manner, for Mr. Willm. Corrigan has 18 men beside himself, this number surely was sufficient to protect the property they had with them. This Willm. Corrigan has every year since he has been Inland been in trouble with these Canadians, which has not been the case with others, but it originates in a great measure from his situation having had to deal with a set of abandoned wretches who stick at nothing short of Murder. What man in his Senses would suffer himself to be cut and hacked and sit tamely without making any resistance, surely the Laws of England reaches as far as this Country. If I had Men I would certainly send them next Spring to Eagle Lake, to endeavour to get hold of some of these Canadian Vagabonds to be sent to England to take their Trial, but situated as I am at present with only a few men at the Factory, not enough common duties carried on . . . it is completely out of my power situated as they are 6 or 700 Miles from the Factory.<sup>3</sup>

His reply to Corrigan<sup>4</sup> — curt and unhelpful — was written on the same day, 19 May 1810, that Corrigan left Eagle Lake under Northwester escort to join Mowat and Tate. The day before Corrigan wrote a final note to Hodgson, insisting that Mowat and the others had acted only in self-defence against Macdonell, who 'was cutting our men down the same as Cabbage Stalks'.<sup>5</sup>

By the end of May Corrigan, Mowat and Tate had left Rainy Lake for the North West Company depot at Fort William, where Mowat was

<sup>1</sup> B.57/a/2, fo. 4.

<sup>2</sup> See B.3/a/113, fo. 6; B.3/b/46, fo. 19.

<sup>3</sup> B.3/a/113, fo. 6d.

<sup>4</sup> B.3/b/46, fos. 19–19d.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, fo. 26.

taken before Angus Shaw, the veteran Northwester who had been appointed Justice of the Peace for the Indian Territory (by virtue of the Canada Jurisdiction Act of 1803) only the year before.<sup>1</sup> The sole result of the encounter between Shaw and a silent, obdurate Mowat was that the prisoner was put in irons once again. In August the three Hudson's Bay men left for the final stage of their journey to Montreal, and there Corrigan and Tate, instead of being treated as witnesses, found themselves in prison with Mowat, accused of aiding and abetting him in Macdonell's death. The leisurely pace of the legal proceedings finally produced a result in March 1811 when no case was found against Corrigan and Tate; but Mowat was put on trial, found guilty of manslaughter, and sentenced to six months imprisonment and branding on the thumb. The relative mildness of the sentence, and some hesitancy among the jury, point to considerable doubts even in this centre of Northwester influence about the sequence of events at Eagle Lake eighteen months earlier.

All these events are recorded in Tate's journal, a surprisingly articulate account for a 'labourer' who entered the Company's service at the age of sixteen, and a tribute to the standard of elementary education in the Orkneys at this time.<sup>2</sup> The journal clearly formed the basis for the account given by Lord Selkirk of the Eagle Lake affair in his *Sketch of the British Fur Trade in North America*, first published in London in 1816. Here Selkirk raised an important point which threw doubt on the legality of Mowat's trial — whether Eagle Lake in fact lay within the 'Indian Territories' covered by the Act of 1803. The contention of the Hudson's Bay Company was that the area lay rather within its chartered territories, and therefore outside the jurisdiction of the Act. In June 1814 the London Committee put this last point to counsel, who gave a legal opinion favourable to the Company:

Whether the Criminal Jurisdiction granted to the Courts of Lower and Upper Canada by the 43<sup>d</sup> Geo: 3<sup>d</sup> C.138 extends to the Territories of the Hudson's Bay Company?

We do not think this Act gives Jurisprudence to the Courts of Lower and Upper Canada within the Territories of the Hudson's Bay

<sup>1</sup> The Act, which was a result of the fierce rivalries between the North West Company and the XY Company, allowed for the appointment of Justices of the Peace for the Indian Territories lying outside the jurisdiction of Lower and Upper Canada. In March 1809 Angus Shaw and Archibald McLeod were appointed Justices by the North West Company under the terms of the Act. See A. S. Morton, *A History of the Canadian West to 1870-71* (revised edn., Toronto, 1973), pp. 514-15, 525.

<sup>2</sup> James Tate's later journals and reports during his years at Henley House and Long Lake show the same characteristics as the journal printed here; they are fuller and more literate than the general run of outpost records. See B.86/a/64, 65; B.117/a/2-4; B.117/e/1-3.



Company these being within the Jurisdiction of their own Governor and Council.

Sam. Romilly  
William Cruise  
G. S. Holroyd  
J. Scarlett  
John Bell<sup>1</sup>

Corrigal's hope as he left Eagle Lake for his long journey to Montreal that 'our Company will take notice of this affair and assist me as soon as their Honrs. know of the affair'<sup>2</sup> was more than justified. Tate's journal, together with other records from the Company's Archives, show that the London Committee made considerable efforts to organize the defence of its servants in a city where as yet it had no influence or agents. For its part the North West Company tried to make use of the affair in its negotiations in London with the Hudson's Bay Company for a partition of territory and trade, and an end to Selkirk's settlement schemes. In June 1811 its agents wrote to the Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company:

A recent unfortunate event the murder of An McDonell by one of the Servants of the Hudsons Bay Company has however again induced the North West Company to attempt some arrangement which might prevent the recurrence of such melancholy results from a violent competition in the Trade of a Country so far removed from the protection of justice to restrain them, and the apprehension that this act of violence may lead to still further animosities being confirmed by the allegations thrown out in the discussion at the General Court against their own servants.<sup>3</sup>

The reply from the London Committee was sharp and uncompromising:

Before entering on the material part of the business we think it necessary to correct a misrepresentation in your letter of what fell from the Deputy Governor<sup>4</sup> of the Hudson Bay Company at the last General Court, in allusion to the unfortunate death of one of the members of the North West Company . . . now there were no

<sup>1</sup> A.39/2, fo. 165.

<sup>2</sup> B.3/b/46, fo. 26.

<sup>3</sup> McTavish, Fraser & Co., Inglis, Ellice & Co. (that is, the Montreal and the London agents of the North West Company) and Alexander Mackenzie to William Mainwaring, 3 June 1811. A.10/1, fo. 95. On the negotiations generally see K. G. Davies, 'From Competition to Union', in 'Papers on the North American Fur Trade', *Minnesota History* (Vol. XL, St Paul, Minnesota Historical Society, Winter 1966), pp. 172-4. The sketch map on p. 173 shows that the proposed boundary between the spheres of operation of the two Companies ran approximately through Eagle Lake.

<sup>4</sup> Joseph Berens, Junior.

allegations thrown out by any of us against our servants, but the Deputy Governor stated that at this distance from the spot where such scenes may have occurred, in the absence of all evidence we did not presume to decide which party was to blame but that we had our own opinion and the North West Company probably had theirs as to the conduct of the servants of the representative companies. This certainly was not making any allegation against our own servants. In the instance where Mr. McDonell lost his life, at least as far as we are enabled to judge from the account which has been transmitted to us, and the result of the trial at Montreal, it appears that his own unjustifiable violence was the cause of the affray. We regret that such a scene should have occurred whatever party may have been to blame; but we confess we do not apprehend that the result will lead to further animosities.<sup>1</sup>

The Hudson's Bay Company's reply concluded that the subject 'is in some degree foreign to the business more immediately under consideration', and this refusal to accept the Northwester interpretation of the significance of the Eagle Lake incident was symptomatic of the Company's tough line in the general negotiations, which soon collapsed as those of 1805 had done.

In Montreal, the rest of the story after the trial is something of an anti-climax. Corrigan and Tate were both dogged with the threat of further legal proceedings, but most of their energy was devoted to attempting to follow the Company's instructions that they should return to England. Eventually, Corrigan reached England by way of New York during the winter of 1811-12; Tate left Quebec by ship in August 1812 and arrived in England during the autumn. Both were paid their salaries and expenses by the Company for the period of their long ordeal, plus gratuities of £50, and in the summer of 1813 sailed once more to the Bay to resume their service in the Albany district.<sup>2</sup> Mowat, a morose, awkward man as he appears in the pages of this journal, refused to accompany Corrigan and Tate after his release — 'he told us that he was his own master and would not be controlled by anybody. Accordingly as such, we were obliged to leave him for the more we entreated him the less he adhered to us'.<sup>3</sup> A footnote in Selkirk's book of 1816 tells us of all that is known of the fate of this forlorn figure: 'After his discharge, Mowat proceeded from Canada to the United States, in order to return to England, but has never since been heard of. He is supposed to have been drowned by the breaking of ice, in one of the rivers he had to cross in his way.'<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A.10/1, fo. 97.

<sup>2</sup> B.3/a/117a, 13 September 1813.

<sup>3</sup> P. 146.

<sup>4</sup> Earl of Selkirk, *A Sketch of the British Fur Trade in North America*. . . (London, 1816), p. 106n.

In other circumstances, at other times, Mowat's action would have made him a hero; to the Hudson's Bay Company, inured to the 'unmerited sufferings and passive forbearance' (as Colin Robertson acidly put it)<sup>1</sup> of its servants in the struggle against the Northwesters, John Mowat was doubtless something of an embarrassment.

<sup>1</sup> H[udson's] B[ay] R[ecord] S[ociety], Vol. II, E. E. Rich and R. H. Fleming, editors, *Colin Robertson's Correspondence Book, September 1817 to September 1822* (Toronto, Champlain Society, and London, Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1939), p. lxxxi.



# JAMES TATE'S<sup>1</sup> JOURNAL FROM THE 15th SEPTEMBER 1809 TO THE 21st AUGUST 1812

<sup>1</sup> James Tate of Ronaldshay, Orkney Islands, joined the Hudson's Bay Company in 1803 at the age of sixteen, signing a contract to serve for five years at a salary of £8 a year (A.32/13, fo. 9). He sailed to Albany that summer, and served inland (mainly at Martin Fall) until his posting to Eagle Lake in 1809. As the term of first contract ran out Tate demanded and obtained an increase of salary to £18 a year, much to the irritation of John Hodgson at Albany who pointed out that Tate 'ought to be a person of extraordinary Abilities to deserve this great rise at once' (B.3/b/44, fos. 21d., 24d.). In July 1809 he left Martin Fall for Eagle Lake and the adventures recounted in his journal printed below. He arrived back in England in the autumn of 1812 where he received a gratuity of £50 from the Company (A.16/7, fo. 6), and before his return to the Bay the next summer seems to have married. Tate served once more inland from Albany at his new salary of £40 a year, and in August 1814 took charge of Henley House as postmaster (B.86/a/63, 5 August). In 1815 he was described as being of middle stature and 'much addicted to Liquor he is unfit to conduct the business of a trading Post, and from his mismanagement at Henley last year, would have been sent home had their have been a person fit to send to superseed him' (B.10/f/1). In 1816 Tate left Henley House to take charge of the post at Long Lake, where he explored the surrounding area and prompted Thomas Vincent, Governor of the Southern Department, to write: 'Mr Tate has conducted the business of his District in a much more satisfactory manner, than his former Conduct gave reason to hope, and he has returned to Long Lake to resume his station, and has under his Command a Clerk and ten men.' But the next year John Davis wrote from Albany: 'Mr Tate is in the frequent habit of getting intoxicated at which times he has behaved neither to the interests of his employers or credit to himself, his Men in a body on their arrival at the Factory made a formal complaint of Mr Tates conduct and they were each separately examined a copy of this examination I gave to Mr Tate for his perusal requesting to know if he has anything to say in justification of himself he observed he was unfortunately given to take a "drop too much" but was allways capable of doing his duty &c. &c. In consequence of this mischivous habit he has been suspended in the command of Henley District, was it not for this fault which is the bane to all abilities and exertions, I have no doubt Mr Tate would make a good trader' (B.123/e/1, fo. 2-2d.). Tate now returned to the Martin Fall district, where in August 1821 Davis again reported critically on his behaviour: 'his conduct has been highly blameable both as it regards himself and the example he shews to others, young men just entered the service, he has again returned to the habbit of drinking he broached and partly expended a Rundlet of Rum of the Cargo consigned to Martins Fall that was put under his care, besides this 12 Gs. of Rum was likewise expended on the journey a great portion of this he drank himself, and arrived at Martins Fall in so debilitated and nervous a state as to render him unfit to do his duty' (B.123/e/6, fos. 5d.-6). Tate returned to Stromness in the *Eddystone* the same autumn, and was discharged from the Company's service. Earlier that year William Smith, Secretary of the Hudson's Bay Company, wrote to Mrs Janet Tate: 'I am to acknowledge your letter of the 31 Ult. [March 1821] and in reply to hand you, extract of your husband's letter dated Albany Factory, 26th Augt 1820, which prevents your request being acceded to till the next year. "I hereby request that in future you will only pay her after the rate of Twelve pounds p Annum to commence after 1821, as I left her money enough in hand for two years, and any bills that may be drawn on me do not accept till you hear from me as I am determined not to pay any money but what I give an order for".' A.5/6, fo. 153d. In January 1823 Smith informed Tate that the London Committee had decided to grant him a pension of £20 a year for the next seven years (A.5/7, fo. 70d.); and in 1829 he was allowed a further, though reduced, pension of £10 a year for the next three years (A.5/9, fo. 65). Tate is last mentioned in the Company's records in a letter to him from Smith of 21 April 1830: 'Your letter of 26th Febry. has this day been submitted to the Governor and Committee, and I am in reply directed to acquaint you, that your requests cannot be complied with, and that the Company can not extend the indulgence already granted.' *Ibid.*, fo. 88d.

*September 15.* Being then at the post of Eagle Lake under the direction of Mr William Corrigan,<sup>1</sup> at 4 o'Clock p.m. a canoe hove in sight from the southward. Accordingly we were all on the outlook to see if it was any Indian that was indebted to us, and likewise to watch our opposition in case they should go off to meet them. The canoe came paddling on, straight for our launch where it landed, then Mr Corrigan told Edward Mowat<sup>2</sup> to go down and see what the Indians had brought, but previous to the canoes landing one of Mr McDonal's men (by the name of Landries)<sup>3</sup> had hid himself in a bush opposite to where the canoe landed, and while Edward Mowat was taking two parchment skins out of the canoe, this man start out of the bush and laid hold of an otter skin, which proved to be all the fur kind that was in the canoe. Then the Indian ordered his canoe to be brought up to our house which was done. This proved to be an Indian that had taken a little debt from Mr Corrigan on our arrival at Eagle Lake and was now returned to pay it.

*September 16.* At 8 o'Clock a.m. Mr Corrigan gave the Indian of last evening about forty beavers worth of goods in debt and sent three men down to the waterside with the goods and canoe. Soon after the Indian followed, and Mr Corrigan went down along with him.

I was at the time employed making nets, but it being customary for all hands to assist in cleaning fish when the fishermen came on shore, I left my work (and went out for that purpose), and saw the men that Mr Corrigan had sent down with goods, arranging them in the canoe for the

<sup>1</sup> William Corrigan, from Kirkwall in the Orkneys, joined the Hudson's Bay Company as a labourer in 1794. He was employed in the Albany district until 1803, when he returned to Europe. He re-entered the Company's service the next year, as master at Red Lake, 1805-06, and at Indian Lake, 1807-09. In August 1809 he established the Eagle Lake post, and after the events described in Tate's journal arrived back in England *via* New York early in 1812. Before he returned to Hudson Bay in 1813 the London Committee, on 19 May 1813, 'Resolved that in consideration of the Hardships & Privations which William Corrigan of Albany Factory endured in the year 1810/11 in proceeding to Montreal as a Witness in behalf of John Mowat taken there by the Canadians for the alledged Crime of Murder, and in which he Wm. Corrigan was implicated, imprison'd tried and acquitted he be allowed his Wages during the Time he was absent from Hudson's Bay and also a gratuity of Fifty Pounds to be placed to the Credit of his Accot.' A.1/50, fo. 87d. Corrigan was employed in the Albany district, and then in the Moose district. Although he was placed on the superannuated list in 1827, he continued in charge of Hannah Bay post, where he was killed by Indians on 22 January 1832. H.B.C. Archives Dept. file.

<sup>2</sup> Edward Mowat, from Stromness in the Orkneys, was born about 1778, and joined the Hudson's Bay Company as a labourer in 1801. It is not known whether he was related to John Mowat, who came from Birsay in the Orkneys. Edward Mowat was stationed at Red Lake, Martin Fall and Indian Lake, serving as a labourer and steersman. He went home in 1812, but returned to the Bay in 1814 where he served as clerk, interpreter and post master until his retirement to Red River in 1832. H.B.C. Archives Dept. file: Edward Mowat (1).

<sup>3</sup> Probably Nicholas Landry, an interpreter who had earlier served the North West Company at Red Lake, Lac Seul and Nipigon. See W. S. Wallace, editor, *Documents relating to the North West Company* (Toronto, Champlain Society, 1934), p. 221; Masson, *Les Bourgeois*, I, 409; Elliott Coues, editor, *New Light on the Early History of the Greater Northwest: The Manuscript Journals of Alexander Henry and of David Thompson, 1799-1814* (New York, 1897), II, 862.

Indian, and at the same time I saw Eneas McDonal<sup>1</sup> and Jaques A Dhemar<sup>2</sup> (who had been sent as traders by the Northwest Company in opposition to us) coming along the beach and went to Indian and asked him to come up to their tents, which the Indian utterly denied to comply with.<sup>3</sup> Then they began to abuse the Indian and A Dhemar laid hold of the Indian and wanted to force him to go along with him, and McDonal laid hold of the canoe and began to drag it away. From our launch, Mr Corrigan then told McDonal that he should not take away the canoe, but give him his goods and he might make of the Indian whatever he pleased. To this McDonal gave no answer but continued to drag away the canoe. Mr Corrigan then called for me, and told me to go and try to protect the Company's property, which I immediately attempted to do, but while stooping down to take hold of the goods out of the canoe McDonal struck me with his fist on my cheek. I then turned about to him and shoved him three or four steps backward and again tried to get the goods. Meanwhile he drew his sword and struck me several times on my shoulders with the back part of it so that I was cut and bruised in several places, then I was obliged to make the best of my escape from him. About this same time the Indian effected his escape to our house from A Dhemar who was menacing the Indian with his own gun, which A Dhemar had previously taken out of the canoe. Then seeing that the Indian and me had made our escape they began to rout our people in every direction. Then seeing that there was nobody at the canoe I again went to try to get the goods, but was soon observed by McDonal who came running as fierce as a lion with his sword in his hand and struck me on my neck, which stroke cut me severely and knocked me down on the launch quite senseless, but being in such agitation I soon recovered a little, and was endeavouring to get to the dry beach when McDonal again came after me and made a stroke for my head with his sword. I had the good fortune to guard off with my left arm but at same time cut my arm very severely.<sup>4</sup> Nevertheless I escaped to the dry beach, and saw one of our

<sup>1</sup> Aeneas Macdonell, a clerk in the service of the North West Company who had been stationed at Lac Seul since 1803. See Wallace, *Documents relating to North West Company*, p. 464; Charles M. Gates, editor, 'Diary of Hugh Faries' in *Five Fur Traders of the Northwest* (St Paul, Minnesota Historical Society, 1965), p. 230; G. C. Davidson, *The North West Company* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1918), p. 224n.

<sup>2</sup> Jacques Adhémar, a North West Company clerk who had been stationed at Red Lake and Mille Lacs. See B.177/a/6-7; Wallace, *Documents relating to North West Company*, p. 221; Coues, *New Light*, I, 290n.; Masson, *Les Bourgeois*, I, 64, II, 294-5, 300.

<sup>3</sup> William Corrigan wrote in his journal: 'at 8A.M. I sent 3 men Down to our Lanch with the Ind<sup>s</sup> Canoe, in a little time the Indians followed. I was standing in the door of our House, and perceived Mr. McDonnall and Mr. Eddy moar [Adhémar] Runing Down there Bank, they went to one of the Ind<sup>s</sup> at our Lanch, and wanted him up to there tents, the Ind<sup>s</sup> would not go, he went into his Canoe.' B.57/a/2, fo. 2.

<sup>4</sup> Corrigan's briefer journal account telescopes these events rather drastically: '... as Tate was



men by the name of John Esson<sup>1</sup> go to A Dhemar and take the Indian's gun from him, and put it in the water. Then A Dhemar took a pistol out of his pocket and cocked it, and came running after me and several other of our people, exclaiming 'O you D....ed rascals I'll blow your brains out' and put his pistol to John Corrigan's<sup>2</sup> breast pronouncing the aforesaid words, then he called for their men to come (in French). I immediately saw several of them under arms, and one of them by the name of Joseph Perisien<sup>3</sup> came running with an axe in his hand and made a stroke with for my head, which stroke I was fortunate enough to fend off with my right arm, or without doubt would have split my head. At the same time McDonal was pursuing John Corrigan so close with his sword, so that John Corrigan was obliged to run nigh up to his neck in the water where McDonal overtook him and cut him to the bone in his right arm with his sword, after which he went after John Esson and made a stroke at him which knocked his hat off, and in making his escape he fell in the water. Before he could recover himself out of the water, the above mentioned Joseph Perisien (who was at a very little distance) struck him with an axe on the shoulder which stroke bruised his shoulder very much. Meanwhile I was getting up the bank toward the house, and I saw one of their men standing behind a tree with a cocked gun in his hands along side of one of our men who was then mending nets. Then McDonal seeing that Esson had made his escape from Perisien came running straight for the pathway that led to our house and a Dhemar accompanying him, a Dhemar with his pistol<sup>4</sup> and McDonal flourishing his sword round his head and saying to one another as they came along 'D...n them — we shall do for some of them this day.' There was several of our people standing in the pathway at the time amongst whom was John Mowat,<sup>5</sup> going up to the house with some fish he had been

going to Lay hold of the goods. McDonal taking his sword from its sheath cut Tate in the Neck a little from his throat, and in the Left arm. . . ' *Ibid.*

<sup>1</sup> John Esson, from Flotta in the Orkneys, joined the Hudson's Bay Company as a labourer in 1797, and served in the Albany district at least until 1812. A.32/13, fo. 136; A.16/7, fos. 46, 124; A.30/10, fos. 4d.-5; A.30/11, fos. 4d.-5.

<sup>2</sup> John Corrigan, from Birsay, joined the Hudson's Bay Company as a labourer in 1806 at the age of 21, and served, first in the Albany district and then in the York district, until 1820. A.32/13, fo. 173; B.3/f/7, fo. 1; A.16/37, fo. 47.

<sup>3</sup> Joseph Parisien, listed in 1804 as a North West Company *voyageur* in the Red Lake department. Coues, *New Light*, II, 557n.

<sup>4</sup> According to William Corrigan he was 'swaggering with a pair of pistols in his Hands. . . ' B.57/a/2, fo. 2d.

<sup>5</sup> John Mowat, from Birsay, joined the Hudson's Bay Company as a labourer in 1793 at the age of 25 and served in the Albany district throughout. His contract (of 1805) expired in 1810, and the Company appears to have made no financial provision for him after that year. A.16/7, fo. 110; A.30/10, fos. 6d.-7, 9d.-10; A.16/8, fo. 3. For his misadventures between 1809 and 1811, and his probable death in or soon after the latter year, see the subsequent entries in Tate's journal and p. 104, *supra*.

cleaning. John Mowat was at this time lame of his thigh<sup>1</sup> and could not make his escape soon enough up the bank before McDonal overtook him, and made a stroke at him which cut his waistcoat on his breast. Then John Mowat started back and took hold of a pistol out of the hand of Thomas Harvy,<sup>2</sup> who was a very little distance from him. Meanwhile I went into the house to see if I could find any person to tie up my wounds as I was losing very much blood; I had not been two minutes in the house till I heard a shot. I immediately went out, and saw several of our people standing in the pathway, and McDonal stepping and staggering backward till he came to the foot of the bank where he halted and put the point of his sword in the ground. Then I again went into the house and saw no more of him, but was truly told by our people that John Mowat had shot him, while he was attempting the second time to run Mowat through the body with his sword.<sup>3</sup> Then all our people came into the house, and us that was wounded got our wounds examined and tied up. My handkerchief and the pad that was in the inside of it and the collar of my shirt was all cut through by the stroke that I got on my neck. Our floor was all over of blood from John Corrigan and me in such a manner that two of our people was nigh fainting at the sight. When the bustle was all over and everything quiet the Indian made his escape through the wood and we saw no more of him.

*September 17.* Mr Corrigan and all our people that was not disabled consulted one with another to see which would be the best method to take in case of them coming in great numbers to overpower us. Accordingly it unanimously agreed that palisades should be raised round the house, and the Indian women that was at the house went to work to sew parchment skins together to be slung up in a little house that we had previously built, and this parchment skins was filled with water, so that if they come to invade us we might have sufficient to support us for some time. Accordingly everybody went to work, some to dig the trench for the palisades and others to cut and carry them home.<sup>4</sup> Everybody was employed except John Esson, John Corrigan and me, who was attended by two Indian women that contributed much to our relief in dressing our wounds, and in seven days time the people had all the palisades up and the gate hung.

<sup>1</sup> Mowat had accidentally cut his foot with a hatchet on 12 September. B.57/a/2, fo. 1d.

<sup>2</sup> Thomas Harvey, from Birsay, joined the Hudson's Bay Company as a labourer in 1806 at the age of 19, and remained in the Albany district until his return to Europe in 1813.

<sup>3</sup> Corrigan's account is briefer and vaguer: 'McDonall was runing after some more of our men flourishing his Sword, and coming up our Bank made a stabe at John Mowat. By this time Mowat was got a pistol, and in his own Defence shot McDonall on the spot.' B.57/a/2, fo. 2d.

<sup>4</sup> By 20 September, 675 stakes had been put up. *Ibid.*

September 24. Mr John Halder<sup>1</sup> (one of the proprietors of the Northwest Company) arrived from Lake Sale with a big canoe and eight men.

September 25. Mr Archibald McLellan<sup>2</sup> hove in sight from Lake la Pluie with a big canoe and ten men. I was the only person belonging to our house that was without the gate when McLellan was landing. I was standing alongside of the gate with my arm tied up, and my neck I could keep it in no other position but to lie over my left shoulder. Just as McLellan's canoe was landing he got up from his seat with his gun in his hands and aimed and fired at me, but by God's providence he missed his mark. Our people in the inside hearing the shot was much alarmed, and I was not a little myself, as I thought that they were certainly determined to have my life.<sup>3</sup> Mr Corrigan then ordered the gate to be shut which was done and everybody that was able was on the lookout to watch their motions in case they should break in unbeknowing to us. In about two hours after McLellan's arrival, he, Mr Halden, and A Dhemar, with about twenty men along with them, came over to our gate and rapped. With much hesitation Mr Corrigan ordered the gate to be opened, and accordingly asked them what they wanted. Mr Halden made answer, and said they wanted the prisoner and as they did not know him we had better deliver him up or they would pop us off one by one as we came out. Otherwise, said he, we can get the Indians to lie wait for you, so that you shall not able to come without your gate. Accordingly to stop further bloodshed it was agreed upon that the prisoner should be delivered up

<sup>1</sup> John Haldane, who joined the XY Company about 1798, and in 1804 was one of the six wintering partners to sign the agreement for union with the North West Company. Since 1806 he had been stationed at Nipigon. Later he was to become a Chief Factor in the Hudson's Bay Company at the coalition of 1821, and from 1823 until his retirement in 1827 was in charge of the Lake Superior district. Wallace, *Documents relating to North West Company*, p.453; *H.B.R.S.*, II, 215-16. Some indication of Haldane's mood in this period is contained in John Pritchard's 'Narrative' of 1819. Pritchard recalled: 'When the Canadian Companies were united I mentioned this subject to Mr John Haldane, a Partner who was then at Fort William. He said that now our Interests being united we must direct all our opposition against the Hudson's Bay Company, and not allow them to get a footing in the Beaver Countries. He then said, he had been so far candid with his former friend of the Hudson's Bay Company in Athabasca, as to tell him that such would be the case, and that, great as his former friendship had been, so now would be his enmity. Indeed the Hudson's Bay Servants, by having been perfectly neutral during our contest, had incurred the displeasure of both parties, for had they supported either of them, the other party would have been unable to continue the competition.' E.8/5, fo. 132-132d.

<sup>2</sup> Archibald McLellan entered the service of the North West Company in 1792, and seems to have been stationed at Rainy Lake from 1799 to the time of this journal. Later he took a prominent part in the Selkirk troubles, and in 1818 he was tried at Quebec for murder, but acquitted. See Wallace, *Documents relating to North West Company*, pp. 479-80; S. A. Wilcocke, editor, *Report of the Trials of Charles de Reinhard and Archibald McLellan for Murder* (Montreal, 1818); *Papers relating to the Red River Settlement* (London, 1819).

<sup>3</sup> Corrigan wrote: 'at 3 P.M. Archibald McLellan one of the N.W.Co arrived, and as he was going at there Bech he fired a Gun at me and some of the men, that was standing at our Gates as if it had been for as meany Parteridges, thank god it did no hurt to us. . . .' B.57/a/2, fo. 3-3d.



rather than endanger all our lives for the sake of one. Now Mr Corrigan and all of us thought it highly desirable that some person should go along with him, wellknowing the danger he had to encounter if alone amongst such barbarians. Then Mr Corrigan made a general enquiry at everyone to see if any one was agreeable to go along with Mowat, but no-one would agree to it as they said they were afraid to venture their lives in the hands of them that had already tried to deprive them of it. Then I voluntarily offered to go along with Mowat provided that another man would go likewise, as one witness was of very little use against so many. Accordingly Mr Corrigan got Robert Leask<sup>1</sup> controlled to go along with me to pass the winter at Lake la Pluie and to return in the spring of the year to Eagle Lake, and Mr Corrigan was then to come to Lake la Pluie in his stead.<sup>2</sup> Thus every thing being agreed upon Robert Leask and me with John Mowat took our departure from our friends, and put ourselves under the care of the Northwest Company.<sup>3</sup> We were lodged into a tent, and two men with load[ed] guns was placed one at each side of the tent door to keep watch over us. We had several visits by our people during the evening.

*September 26.* At 8 o'Clock a.m. John Mowat was put in irons and we were all three guarded down to the waterside, where we embarked on board of a big canoe with six men to work the canoe and Mr Jaques A Dhemar was sent as conductor of the voyage. Thus equipped we took our departure for Lake la Pluie, where we arrived on the second of October after a tediousome and disagreeable passage with rain, and had

<sup>1</sup> Robert Leask of Westra joined the Hudson's Bay Company as a labourer in 1806 at the age of 23; he retired from the service in 1812. A.32/13, fo. 161; A.16/8, fo. 59; A.30/11, fos. 6d.-7.

<sup>2</sup> A prospect Corrigan viewed with less than enthusiasm. On 18 October he wrote to John Hodgson at Albany: 'They also want to carry me out in the Spring — but I should be glad to know your opinion what I shall do at that time. I do not think to see the Spring as I have been confined to my bed these 12 days, and no signs of growing better, I am sure it will carry me off; therefore if it is your pleasure to send up somebody to take charge of the Companys property in case that in a few days I be no more. Since my illness the Canadians has been very violent towards us, as soon as Indians comes to our Launch with a Canoe, the Canadians comes down armed with Axes and Pistols and threatens Death for the first man that comes to offer to oppose them, so that our Men dare not stir from the door when a Canoe comes to our beach. I hope you will think of the poor Men at this place and assist them as you think most proper yourself, for my assistance is most over. . . .' B.3/b/46, fo. 7-7d.

<sup>3</sup> There is some discrepancy here between Tate's account and that given in Corrigan's journal. According to the latter, most of this happened the previous day, 24 September: 'at 2 P.M. John Haldane one of the N.W.Co arrived at this place, and spoke to me at our Gate, and told me You will not Keep your selves within these palisades all the year, and that I must deliver up the man that shot McDonell or he could Bring 50 men on us and do as he thought propper. John Mowat give himself up without the lest word — the above John Haldane also told me that he would take furs at our very door from white men or Indians, and that he had given his word to the gentlemen below that he would do so, and that he is to stand to it.' B.57/a/2, fo. 3. But the next day's entry confirms Tate's dating of the incident — 'I went to John Haldanes tent with John Mowat James Tate and Rob<sup>t</sup>. Leske. . . .' *Ibid.*, fo. 3d.

nothing to cover us in night. Our food during the passage was boiled rice and only had a little of that once a day. They obliged Robert Leask to paddle and to carry my things over the portages, and likewise to assist them in everything they required during the passage. I nigh forgot to mention that Mowat's irons were taken off our first day from Eagle Lake. Nothing further of any consequence occurred to us during our passage from Eagle Lake to Lake la Pluie.

*October 3.* At 7 o'Clock a.m. John Mowat was put in irons by A Dhemar, after which he conducted me to an old cooper's shop and told me that it was to be our apartment. Accordingly Robert Leask and me went to work and made a bed for us all three out of a parcel of old boards. John Mowat's irons was taken off at 10 o'Clock p.m.

*October 4.* Robert Leask and me was sent a fishing. Caught fifteen fish which we cleaned and cooked part of and kept the remainder for the insuing day.

*October 5.* At 6 o'Clock Mowat was put in irons. Robert Leask and me getting our chimney and cooking utensils in order.

*October 6.* From this date to the 17 instant John Mowat was generally in irons from 6 o'Clock a.m. to 8 p.m., and Robert Leask and me was continually employed either in fishing or cutting and carrying firewood or otherwise employed, and frequently assisting the Canadians to dig up potatoes. Every day that we helped the Canadians to dig potatoes we generally got some for ourselves, otherwise we had nothing but the part of the few fish that we caught ourselves and a little Indian rice that was served out to us daily, and was treated in every manner with insolence and contempt.

*October 18.* At 6 o'Clock a.m. Mowat was again put in irons, then seeing that the poor man was so confined and could not assist himself in any necessary particular whatsoever I went to A Dhemar and intreated him to take Mowat's irons off, if it should only be for the time he was eating his victuals, and told a Dhemar that I thought it was very cruel to use Mowat in the manner that he did after making so many fair promises at Eagle Lake, that he should be treated in every respect with humanity. 'O', said A Dhemar, 'it serves him right, I only put him in irons to let the Indians see that he is in confinement. And I think', said he, 'you may be very thankful that you are not treated in the same manner, it is only owing to my pleasure that you go without the gates.' It would have been much more desirable to me if he had kept me in the inside and excluded me from fishing and cutting firewood etc., for my neck and arm was still in a very pitiful condition for want of opportunity to keep it clean, and I had no medical assistance but only from an old Indian woman, whom I

am infinitely obliged to, that frequently went to the woods and gathered roots for me which contributed very much to the healing of my wounds.

*October 19.* Mowat's irons was taken off at 11 o'Clock a.m. Leask and me continued our work as before. All this time past we had to cook our little subsistence after we left off work.

*October 20.* From this date to the 23rd instant Robert Leask and me was employed in looming<sup>1</sup> the house and putting parchment in the windows.

*October 24.* We got a little piece of bear's flesh which served us for dinner. This was the first flesh of any description that we had tasted since we left Eagle Lake.

*October 25.* Robert Leask and me was sent to repair an old boat that was laying a little way down the river. When we returned we found Mowat in irons, and he told us that he had been so all day.

*October 26.* Some Indians arrived with about forty sturgeon. Leask and me was ordered to carry them up to the house. John Mowat's irons was taken off at 5 o'Clock p.m. This was the first time that he was in irons all night.

*October 27.* From this date to the 5th November Robert Leask and me was daily employed in fishing and mending nets, but caught very few fish, which occasioned us to live very poorly during the time, having nothing but a little Indian rice and grease to live upon, and hardly time enough to cook it.

*November 6.* Jaques A Dhemar and his wife and children came to live in the same house with us. Leask and me was sent off along with a Canadian in a big canoe about fifty miles down the river to a place called Chute de Diable<sup>2</sup> to bring home sturgeon from their fishermen who was there a fishing. We arrived there about 5 o'Clock p.m., got a good meal of fish from the fishermen. This was the first good meal that we had had since the twenty-fourth of October. During the evening we assisted the fishermen to carry down the fish to the waterside for to load the canoe with, the ensuing morning after which we were pitching the canoe.

*November 7.* We load the canoe and took our departure from Chute de Diable at 8 o'Clock a.m. Stopped for the night at 7 o'Clock p.m. Unloaded the canoe and repaired her. Ice driving very thick in the river all day.

*November 8.* We load our canoe and start at 5 o'Clock a.m. Was set fast in the ice at 10 o'Clock a.m. Broke the canoe and nigh drowned ourselves amongst the ice. Got the drag ashore and part of the fish, then set out to walk to Lake la Pluie, where we arrived at 7 o'Clock p.m.

<sup>1</sup> Looming; filling chinks with clay or the like.

<sup>2</sup> Devil's Cascade.



Snowing all day. At 11 o'Clock p.m. we were again sent off with a boat; during the night we were several times nigh overset by the ice.

*November 9.* At 4 o'Clock a.m. we arrived at the place where we had left the canoe and fish the preceding day. Put all the fish in the boat, then made a fire and warmed ourselves, and at 7 o'Clock a.m. start with intent to get to Lake la Pluie that day, but it snowed so thick that we were obliged to stop for the night about ten miles from the house. We suffered much by the cold having tore all our shoes amongst the ice.

*November 10.* We start at 11 o'Clock a.m., ice driving very thick in the river our boat got aground. We were obliged to strip and jump overboard up to our waist in the water to shove the boat off the rocks. At 4 o'Clock p.m. we arrived at the house. Got some venison for dinner after which we were sent to carry the fish up to the house and stow them by.

*November 11.* Leask and me was washing our dirty clothes etc. which was in a very filthy state by working so much amongst fish, after which we were employed in mending our shoes which was all tore by walking so much amongst the ice.

*November 12.* At 12 o'Clock at noon three Canadians arrived with a canoe load of sturgeon. Leask and me was sent to carry them up to the house and stow them by.

*November 13.* From this date to the 16th instant nothing of any consequence occurred to us, only that our allowance was changed from Indian rice and grease, to sour sturgeon and potatoes.

*November 17.* Leask and me was sent to the woods to cut and collect firewood. We were kept closely employed at this work generally from 8 o'Clock a.m. to 4 o'Clock p.m. till the 25 instant excepting Sundays. Our living was rice and grease one day and sour fish and potatoes another. We generally carried up as much water in the evening as served us for the ensuing day, and while we were employed cutting wood John Mowat cooked for us.

*November 26.* Doing nothing, had nothing to eat all day only a little sour sturgeon roes that we had previously gathered, that we pounded together with a few potatoes and baked before the fire.

*November 27.* John Mowat fell sick and his skin broke out. This certainly arose from nothing else but the bad dirty stuff that we got to live upon.

*November 28.* Robert Leaske and me was sent to cut and carry home fire-wood which we continued to do till the 4th of December, but Mowat getting worse one of us was allowed to wait on him daily, each one his turn. Our living during this time was much the same as formerly described.

*December 5.* Four Indians arrived with a small package of furs each. At 2 o'Clock John Mowat was put in irons. Leask and me was sent to carry home fire-wood. Mowat's irons was taken off at 9 o'Clock p.m.

*December 6.* Leask and me was ordered to shovel snow out of the yard, after which we were sent to assist the canoe-maker to carry cedar to the place where he wrought. Mowat recovered a little from his sickness.

*December 7.* Leask and me was sent to cut and carry home fire-wood as usual. John Mowat was ordered to cook for us while we were working in the woods. We continued in till the 12th instant, having nothing but Indian rice and grease to eat and hardly so much of it as satisfy our hunger.

*December 13.* At 5 o'Clock a.m. Mr McLellan arrived from Eagle Lake, brought me a letter from Mr Corrival. The letter had been broke open and shut again. John Mowat was put in irons at 6 o'Clock a.m. McLellan brought a report that the Orkneys were taken by the French which alarmed Mowat very much.<sup>1</sup> Indeed I was much afraid that this report had put him in a bad condition, first when he heard it he began to cry like a child and threw himself down on the floor and tore his hair and knocked his irons about in such a manner that I was really afraid that he would have lost his senses. As we all three slept in the same bed and I lay next to him, I was much interrupted from sleep by him during the night for he frequently struck me in the face with the irons. Whether he did it designedly or unknown to him I cannot say, but however I had several marks on my face in the morning.

*December 14.* Being so much harassed by Mowat's proceedings last night I intended not to sleep in the same bed with him any more. Accordingly I went to Mr McLellan and intreated him either to take Mowat's irons off or else find me another place to sleep into. McLellan told me that he had no objection to take the irons off Mowat provided that I would be accountable that he should not run away. I told him that I was in nowise afraid to become accountable for him that he should not run away as I knew that he had no intention for any such thing, or he might have done so long before now, for he had had many opportunities of accomplishing it if he had been any wise inclined for to do so. Yes, said McLellan, but he had better never attempt it for if he was to try at any such thing I would soon get the Indians to blow his brains out for a big keg of liquor. Go and tell him so from me. Then I went out and Mr A Dhemar soon followed me into our house and took the irons off John Mowat, and told him that if he behaved himself well they should not be put on again before Mr McLellan arrived from Eagle Lake by water.

<sup>1</sup> There was no truth in this rumour.

*December 15.* Robert Leask and me was repairing our chimney and cleaning the house in the forenoon, after which we were employed skinning sturgeon.

*December 16.* We were cleaning the snow and ice away from our door, which was become very filthy by A Dhemar's children and the Indians that came so frequently to see us being told that we were all three in confinement.

*December 17.* Mr McLellan took his departure for Eagle Lake. I gave him two letters to carry there, which he broke open and read before me. I told him that he certainly took the liberty that did not belong to him in so doing. O, said he, it is requisite so to do from all prisoners.

*December 18.* Leask and me was sent to our usual employment to cut and carry home fire wood. Such was our employment till the 23rd instant, living upon Indian rice and moulded grease, which John Mowat cleaned and cooked for us.

*December 24.* Being Sunday Leask and me got liberty to stop at home and wash our dirty shirts etc.

*December 25.* Doing nothing but cooking a little cabbage and some sour sturgeon heads that had been laying on the top of the house since the fall of the year. This was our allowance for Christmas day.

*December 26.* Robert Leask and me was sent to our usual employment at which we continued till the 31st instant, our living as usual and John Mowat cooked for us during the time.

*January 1, 1810.* We were all three invited to have breakfast with Mr A Dhemar. This breakfast consisted of sour sturgeon roes, potatoes and some Indian rice, all pounded together and baked in the oven the same as a pudding. We got a glass of liquor in the morning and another in the evening. This was the first liquor of any description that we had tasted since we left Eagle Lake, all the time having nothing but water to drink and our victuals as before described.

*January 2.* Leask and me was both sent to our usual employment some times cutting and carrying home firewood and other times cleaning snow out of the yard and John Mowat cooking for us our living exactly the same as formerly till the 11th instant.

*January 12.* Doing nothing. Got a little venison which we made a good dinner of, being the first that we could call a good dinner since the 10th of November last.

*January 13.* Two men went off for Eagle Lake. I sent two letters with them but was first obliged to give them to A Dhemar to read, otherwise they were not passable.

*January 14.* Leask and me working in the woods as usual at which work we continued till the 17th instant our living as usual.



*January 18.* We were both sent to assist the Canadians to launch a boat on the river to send some horse across into, in purpose for collecting cedar to build canoes of.

*January 19.* We got nothing to eat till about 5 o'Clock p.m. when from the calls of hunger I was obliged to go and beg of A Dhemar to give us something to ate. Got a little rice and grease as usual.

*January 20.* We were sent to our usual employment in cutting and carrying home fire-wood etc. This we continued to do, and all others kinds of drudgery that was required till the 31st instant. Our living was the same as before described, some times indeed it was worse for several times we got sturgeon served out to us that nothing but the calls of hunger induced us to ate, for they were in such a putrid state that the smell of them was insufferable.

*February 1.* Robert Leask and me went a hunting, caught one rabbit, this with another that we had caught the Sunday before afforded us a good dinner.

*February 2.* We were permitted to stop at home to wash and mend our old clothes after which we were employed cleaning rice.

*February 3.* Leask and me was sent to our usual work in the woods at which we continued till the 6th instant. Our living was the same as before described and John Mowat cooked for us during the time.

*February 7.* We were both sent along with two Canadians to sein sturgeon. Caught nine small sturgeon of which we got two for our dinner. This was the first fresh fish that we had tasted since the fifth of November last.

*February 8.* Leask and me was sent to our work in the woods as usual at which we continued till the 11th instant. Our living in the same manner as before mentioned.

*February 12.* We both went a hunting. Caught two rabbits. We likewise went a hunting the following day but caught nothing.

*February 13.* This day and the day following we were employed cleaning rice and skinning sturgeon. Part of the time we were shovelling snow out of the yard etc.

*February 15.* About twelve or fourteen Indians arrived with a great quantity of furs and some flesh of which we got as much as served us for two days.

*February 16.* From this date to the 10th of March we were daily employed either in cutting and carrying home fire wood, or otherwise along with the Canadians a fishing. Several times in the evenings we were allowed to go a hunting, some times we caught something and other times after much exertion got nothing. Anytime that we got more than

two rabbits A Dhemar used always to ask us for one for which he gave us a glass of grog in return. During this time our living was much the same as usual, only that we had a meal of fresh fish sometimes. Several Indians arrived during the time but brought very little of anything worth notice.

*March 11.* I received three letters from Eagle Lake by three Canadians that arrived from there. The letters were all open and out of told. Leask and me was sent to split fire wood, this was our employment till the 14th instant. Our living as usual.

*March 15.* I sent two open letters for Eagle Lake along with the before-mentioned three men. Leask and me was sent a fishing along with the Canadians. Caught seven fish of which we got one that served us for supper.

*March 16.* From this date to the 21st instant we were both frequently sent a fishing along with the Canadians part of the time, and at other times cleaning snow out of the yard and cutting fire wood. Our living was the same as usual.

*March 22.* Mr McLellan arrived from Eagle Lake. Brought me one open letter. Leask and me was employed as usual.

*March 23.* At 6 o'Clock p.m. Mr McLellan sent A Dhemar to ask Robert Leask and me if we would come to his room and take a glass of grog with him. We thanked him and said that we would rather decline going as under our present circumstances we were not in a state fit for Mr McLellan's company. However, he insisted on us to go and we went and was very cordially received by Mr McLellan who set us down in a chair, one on each side of him, then gave us some grog. Then he began to form his conversation entirely about the affair of the 16th September. We soon perceived that he only wanted to sift us, and to see if he could learn anything from us, with regard to the proceedings of that day, but seeing his intention we soon took the hint, and answered him accordingly. Then he began to perceive that he could learn nothing from us according to his expectation and got into a very hot passion, and treated us in a very abusive manner and told us that if we did not leave his room directly he would do so and so to us. We immediately rose and tried to get out but we were quickly surrounded by a number of Canadians who got between us and the door. Then McLellan stripped off his coat and came running up to me flourishing his fists round my head and using the most abusive language that he could think of. Then I told him that might exercise his authority over me here as he pleased, but if we were both in some other place, on an equal footing, we would see who would carry the greatest sway. You said he, D. n you I would not mind your life so much as the life of a dog. That I do not doubt said I for I remember you have tried for

it once before by firing on me at Eagle Lake, which you are not sure but I may bring you up for yet some time or other. Then Leask and me was turned out, and in about ten minutes after McLellan sent me a challenge to come to Eagle Lake with him and he would fight me in any shape that I pleased. This I would have willingly accepted, but as he had brought orders for Robert Leask to return with him to Eagle Lake, I could not with any propriety leave John Mowat alone, so in consequence of which I was obliged sustain the insult and remain where I was.

*March 24.* Nothing extraordinary occurred. Robert Leask washing and getting his things ready for to start for Eagle Lake. I was employed cleaning and cooking a little rice and grease for our dinner.

*March 25.* A Dhemar began to upbraid me for [not?] accepting of McLellan's challenge, after which he abused every one in the service that we belonged to for cowards. For instance said he if your people at Eagle Lake had been anywise brave they would not have stopped in their house all winter eating nothing but fish, when the Indians wanted them so often to send to their tents and carry home meat for almost nothing.

*March 26.* At 2 o'Clock a.m. Robert Leask took his departure for Eagle Lake along with McLellan.<sup>1</sup> I sent one letter along with him being the first shut letter that I was enabled to send since my arrival here. Leask's departure made me very disconsolate for I found John Mowat to be rather a peevish companion and I had no other person to speak to but Frenchmen who did not understand a word of English. A Dhemar spoke broken English but it was very seldom that he was in a humour of speaking to me.

*March 27.* This day and the day following I was employed cutting fire wood and cooking and washing any things that were dirty. Our living still continued in the same manner as usual.

*March 29.* I was asked by one of the Canadians if I could sharp razors. I told him I could. Well, said he, I'll give you a pair of Indian shoes if you will sharp my ones. Accordingly I went to work and gained the shoes which was very acceptable to me as I had none to put on and nothing to purchase them with.

*March 30.* I began my usual work in cutting wood and doing all other kinds of drudgery that was required of me to do; at which work I continued without any other thing remarkable occurring till the 12th day of April. Our living continued in the same manner as usual.

*April 13.* Two Canadians arrived from Eagle Lake brought me one open letter. This day we were favoured with the sight of some geese and

<sup>1</sup> They arrived at Eagle Lake on 30 March. B.57/a/2, fo. 6.



ducks which gave us great hopes that the rivers and lakes would soon be open and that we should soon get out from this disagreeable place of bondage.

*April 14.* The above-mentioned two men went off for Eagle Lake. I sent two open letters with them. My work and living the same as before.

*April 15.* I began my work as formerly at which I continued till the 17th instant, living the same as before.

*April 18.* Several canoes of Indians arrived laden with furs of different kinds and some flesh of which we got as much as served us for dinner.

*April 19.* I was employed as usual from this day till the 23rd instant and our living was worse during this time than ever it had been before, for several times we got some bear's flesh that after we had cooked it we were obliged to throw most of it away being rotten and full of maggots.

*April 24.* Several Indians arrived with geese. We were employed plucking them. Got one for dinner which was certainly a great rarity to us being starved so long on the mean dirty food that we made use of.

*April 25.* This day and the day following I was employed as in the same manner as I have been hitherto. Got a goose each day between us both. I likewise got two pounds of sugar from A Dhemar as a present.

*April 27.* From this date to the sixth day of May nothing very remarkable occurred, only that the Indians arrived frequently during the time with geese. Always when the Indians brought unplucked geese I was set to pluck and clean them, and when I was not employed doing that I was sent a fishing. Our living during this time was the best that we have experienced since we left Eagle Lake for we generally got a goose between us both per day.

*May 7.* Several Indians arrived with [furs?] and flesh. They brought intelligence that Lake la pluie was entirely clear and no ice to be seen. From the above-mentioned date to the 16th instant nothing extraordinary occurred to us. I was several times sent a fishing during the time and doing other drudgeries about the house as usual. Our living was changed from geese to rice and grease as usual.

*May 17.* I was sent a fishing. Caught five fish, cleaning the same and gathering chips off the dung hill to cook with, was not allowed to burn the firewood that I had carried home myself during this spring. I continued in this manner generally a fishing till the 22nd instant. Had nothing to live upon but the few fish that I caught myself and a little rice which was daily served out to us, that I used to clean and cook after I had returned from fishing.

May 23. Mr Dease<sup>1</sup> arrived from Lake de Bois with one canoe, brought very few furs with him, as the Indians belonging to that lake brings most of their trade to Lake la Pluie or otherwise to Portage du Rat.

May 24. Mr McLockland<sup>2</sup> arrived from Vermillion Lake with two canoes. Brought about forty packages of furs, most of which consisted of beaver and otters. There is a great number of Indians belonging to that lake and is said to be good hunters. The North West Company gets those Indians' furs at a very low price as there is nobody belonging to the Hudson's Bay Company that goes there to oppose them.

May 25. Mr McLellan arrived from Eagle Lake and Mr Corrigan along with him.<sup>3</sup> Mr Corrigan brought us a little flour which was a great treat to us being the first flour or bread of any description that we had seen since we left Eagle Lake on the 26 September 1809. Mr McLellan only brought five packs of furs with him in his canoe as the canoe was but small, but he had another canoe coming after him with the remainder of his goods and furs.

May 26. Mr McLellan's other canoe arrived from Eagle Lake. Brought fourteen packs. This fourteen packs with the five that McLellan brought, made nineteen packs from Eagle Lake, but most of it consisted of parchment and dressed leather.

May 27. Nothing extraordinary occurred but the day following John Mowat and me got orders to get ready to start for Lake Superior tomorrow in company A Dhemar, and Mr Corrigan was to start the day following along Mr McLockland. By 6 o'Clock p.m. we had all our things washed and ready for starting.

May 29. At 3 o'Clock p.m. John Mowat and me with six Canadians and A Dhemar and his wife and children all embarked on board of a big canoe to take our departure for Lake Superior, but we had not been ten or twelve fathoms from the shore till the canoe, being so heavily laden, began to take in water at both sides. Then they were obliged to return to get the canoe lightened. John Mowat and me and A Dhemar and his wife and family with two other men, were all put on shore to embark on a

<sup>1</sup> John Warren Dease, who was certainly in charge of Rainy Lake in 1814. *H.B.R.S.*, III, 434; Wallace, *Documents relating to North West Company*, p. 221.

<sup>2</sup> John McLoughlin (of Columbia fame). He had joined the North West Company in 1806, was stationed at Vermilion Lake in 1808, and employed in the Rainy Lake district for a number of years. *H.B.R.S.*, II, 233-5; Wallace, *Documents relating to North West Company*, p. 482; W. Kaye Lamb, *Sixteen Years in the Indian Country. The Journal of Daniel Williams Harmon 1800-1816* (Toronto, 1957), pp. 106-9.

<sup>3</sup> Corrigan's last journal entry was dated 18 May: 'Tomorrow I must set off for Mountraell, god knows sadly against my will. But as my Cause is good I hope god will assist me, and as soon as the Honourable Company hears of the affair they will assist me Likewise, as soon as I go from this the men and Boats sets off for O[snapburgh] H[ouse] But I am sorry with a poor tread. But it is what we cannot help, with wishing better Success to your Honors affairs.' B.57/a/2, fo. 8.

smaller canoe. McLellan came down to the beach where we were all standing and asked me where my paddle was. This question entirely surprized me as God knows it was my intention ever to paddle on board of any of their canoes. I told McLellan that I had no paddle and did not intend to have any, and my arm being disabled I was not fit to use a paddle. It makes no difference, said McLellan, whether you are fit or not, for by God you shall paddle or lay by the way. Then he turned to A Dhemar and said to him, remember that I order you, if Tate does not paddle, leave him on the first desolate point you see. This order A Dhemar swore deeply to put in force if I disobeyed in any particular. Accordingly A Dhemar and his wife and children and two other men, with John Mowat and me all embarked on board the above-mentioned canoe, and I was obliged to paddle to preserve my own life, or it is no doubt but they have certainly have put their threats in execution. We passed one portage and two rapids and came up with the other canoes at the entrance of Lake la Pluie, where we stopped for the night. It rained very hard all night and we had nothing to sleep under, and was much tormented with the mosquitoes all night.

*May 30.* We start at 5 o'Clock a.m., went about seven miles. It blew very hard so that the canoes shipped water and wet the furs. Put ashore and stopped all day drying the packs.

*May 31.* Start at 4 o'Clock a.m. Got to the other end of the lake, passed two portages, and camped at 7 o'Clock p.m. half-way through Lake la Mecane.<sup>1</sup>

*June 1.* Start at 3 o'Clock a.m. past the other part of the lake and three portages. Stopped for the night in a little river.<sup>2</sup> Was much tormented with the mosquitoes.

*June 2.* We start at 4 o'Clock a.m. At 9 a.m. Mr McLockland overtook us with two canoes and Mr Corrigan along with him. At 2 o'Clock p.m. we left the two laden canoes behind and we went ahead in company with Mr McLockland's canoe. We passed Lake la Croix, Sturgeon Lake and Lake de Dorade,<sup>3</sup> likewise five portages and ten rapids and camped 7 o'Clock p.m. This night we thought to had better accomodation for this night then usual as Mr Corrigan had his tent along with him, but Mr McLockland had no tent and consequently slept with Mr Corrigan in his one, for which reason I suppose that Mr Corrigan did not think it proper to ask us into the tent, so accordingly we were obliged to take up our lodging alongside of a tree as usual.

*June 3.* We start at 3 o'Clock a.m., we passed three portages two of two

<sup>1</sup> Lake Michan, or Namakan Lake.

<sup>2</sup> Probably Loon River.

<sup>3</sup> Pickerel Lake.



miles long each and one of four miles long, we likewise passed Trout Lake. Camped at 8 o'Clock p.m.

*June 4.* Start at 2 o'Clock a.m. Passed four small lakes, two rapids and two portages, likewise part of Mille Lake.<sup>1</sup> Camped at 8 o'Clock p.m. Rain all night.

*June 5.* Start at 3 o'Clock a.m. We passed the other part of Mille Lake, and Lake du Sable and the swampy river. Camped at 7 o'Clock p.m.

*June 6.* Start at 5 o'Clock a.m. Passed three portages, one of three miles long, one of two and one of five. Camped at 7 o'Clock p.m. Cold with frost all night.

*June 7.* Start at 4 o'Clock a.m. Passed two portages and Dog River and Lake. Camped at half past 6 o'Clock p.m. at the entrance of Dog portage.

*June 8.* Start at 3 o'Clock a.m. Passed Dog portage and five other portages in the Wapithtickwiah River<sup>2</sup> and many dangerous rapids. Camped at Portage la montagne<sup>3</sup> at 9 o'Clock p.m. Got nothing for supper. Great frost all night.

*June 9.* Start at half past 3 o'Clock a.m. Came down the French River which is very rapid and arrived at Fort William at the entrance of Lake Superior at 9 o'Clock a.m. During our passage from Lake la Pluie we had nothing to live upon but Indian rice and grease which we were often obliged to eat raw. On our arrival at Fort William we sat about half an hour on the beach unnoticed, then we were asked into Mr Kenneth McKinzie's<sup>4</sup> room and got a glass of rum each, and some bread and butter for breakfast, and at dinner time we got some fish and venison, and beer to drink, after which Mr Corrival was shown to his apartment and I was shown to mine and John Mowat was locked up in prison. This prison was of a square form, built of square logs and no window of any description to it and in the inside it was partitioned off in rooms of about eight feet wide.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Lac des Mille Lacs.

<sup>2</sup> Kaministikwia River.

<sup>3</sup> Mountain Portage.

<sup>4</sup> Kenneth McKenzie was made a partner of the North West Company in 1805, and from 1806 until 1816 was in charge at Fort William. He was arrested there by Lord Selkirk in 1816, and was drowned in Lake Superior, while still a prisoner, in 1817. See Wallace, *Documents relating to North West Company*, p. 478.

<sup>5</sup> Ross Cox later described Fort William as it appeared in 1817: 'The buildings at Fort William consist of a large house, in which the dining-hall is situated, and in which the gentleman in charge resides; the Council-house; a range of snug buildings for the accommodation of the people from the interior; a large counting-house; the Doctor's residence; extensive stores for the merchandise and furs; a forge; various work-shops, with apartments for the mechanics, a number of whom are always stationed here. There is also a prison for refractory *voyageurs*. The whole is surrounded by wooden fortifications, flanked by bastions, and is sufficiently strong to withstand any attack from the natives. Outside the fort is a ship-yard, in which the Company's vessels on the lake are built and repaired. The kitchen-garden is well stocked, and there are extensive fields of Indian corn and potatoes. There are also several heads of cattle, with sheep, hogs, poultry, &c., and a few horses for domestic use.' Ross Cox, *Adventures on the Columbia River, including the Narrative of a Residence of Six Years on the Western Side of the Rocky Mountains*. . . (London, 1831), Vol. II, pp. 290-1.



Section from 'A Map of America, ...', c. 1817





*June 10.* Being Sunday I got my allowance served out for the week which consisted some bread, Indian corn and salt pork.

*June 11.* From this date to the 20th instant nothing occurred extraordinary. I went several times to see John Mowat who seemed to be better contented with his present situation than he was with the former. I washed his shirts and my own during the time. Most part of the time I passed in company with Mr Corrigan.

*June 21.* Mr Eneas Shaw<sup>1</sup> arrived from Montreal. In firing the guns to salute him two men was much hurt by the explosion of a kettle of gunpowder that they had standing by them at the time.

*June 22.* Mr Shaw sent three men with muskets and fixed bayonets to bring John Mowat out of the prison before him as he was a Justice of the Peace for the Indian District. Mowat was not willing to go, and said that he did not want to be brought before any Magistrate till such time as he arrived in Montreal. They told him that it made no difference, they would oblige him to go, and accordingly dragged him out and brought him before Mr Shaw. All that Mr Shaw asked him was if he had anything to say in his own defence to which John Mowat gave no answer. Then Mr Shaw ordered a pair of handcuffs to be brought, which was put on Mowat's hands and he was again sent to prison, after which Mr Corrigan and me was sent for, and we were much afraid that we should be served in the same manner as John Mowat had been. But all that Shaw asked us was if we would have any objection to Joseph Perisien as an evidence when we would arrive in Montreal. We told him that we would say nothing either pro or con about that till we arrived in Montreal. Nothing further was asked us and we were dismissed.

*June 23.* From this date to the ninth day of July nothing very remarkable occurred. Several of their canoes was coming and going daily and we had a great desire to go likewise but could not obtain it. I went several times to see poor Mowat during the time, but was only allowed to look in when they opened the door to give him his victuals. I always washed his shirts when required. During this time Mr Corrigan and me was much agitated as we thought that they were intended to detain us all winter at Lake Superior.

*July 10.* I got liberty from Mr James Tait<sup>2</sup> who attended the prison to go and pass part of the day in the prison with John Mowat. This gave me an opportunity of enquiring how they treated him with regard to

<sup>1</sup> Angus Shaw, already in the service of the North West Company in 1787, and a partner by the late 'nineties. He was appointed a Justice of the Peace for the Indian Territories in 1809, and in 1810-11 was a North West Company agent at Fort William. *H.B.R.S.*, I, 465-6; Wallace, *Documents relating to North West Company*, pp. 497-8.

<sup>2</sup> James Tait, known to have been stationed in the Kaministiquia district in 1806. *Ibid.*, p. 221.

food. He told me that he could not desire better living, that he had bread, butter and tea every morning and evening, and always fresh meat for dinner, but was kept close in irons from about 7 o'Clock in the evening till 9 o'Clock in the morning.

*July 11.* From this date to the 15th instant nothing extraordinary happened. I heard from some of the people about the place that John Mowat was very sick. I then went and told Mr Corrigan of it, and him and me went and asked if we could get into the prison to see him but they would not admit us.

*July 16.* Mr Tait told me that John Mowat was very sick and wanted to see me. I went, and it certainly was a lamentable scene to see the poor man laying with his arms cut with the fetters and his body all broke out with boils. He told me that he had several times asked for some medicine but got none, although there was a doctor at the place.

*July 17.* I went and dressed John Mowat's sores and washed off the filthy humors that had run from him on his bedding. I likewise got two dirty shirts from him to wash.

*July 18.* From this date to the 25th instant nothing occurred extraordinary. I washed John Mowat's shirts and my own during the time and brought Mr Corrigan's tent to the prison for Mowat to lay upon and dressed his sores occasionally. During this time several canoes went off for Montreal and likewise several of the proprietors went off for their wintering ground in the north.

*July 26.* Mr McLellan arrived from Lake la plue and went to see John Mowat, then he and Mr Tait came and told me that Mowat wanted to see me. I went along with them both to the prison. John Mowat seemed to be in very low spirits, and told me that Mr Corrigan and me had better try to get off the best way that we could, for as for him he really thought that they intended to keep him there to murder him. No such thing said McLellan, there is a Justice of the Peace here and there is no fear but you will have justice done to you. John Mowat said that he did not think that it was anyway justifiable to keep him laying here in irons only to satisfy their whim and fancy and not to send him to a place where he would have justice done to him. Moreover, said he to McLellan, if there were any justice here you ought to been sharing part of my fate for your behaviour at Eagle Lake. Mowat gave me two of his shirts to clean that was all bedawbed with matter that had run from his sores. I went and got a small viol of medicine from the doctor for John Mowat.

*July 27.* From this date to the 4th of August nothing extraordinary occurred. Mowat still continued sick. I went several times to see him and did any necessary thing that he required me to do for him.

*August 5.* They took John Mowat's razors and knife from him and brought them to me and told me they could not trust such things any longer with him as they really thought that he was getting deranged in his mind. The day following I went to see him and found him in his usual way.

*August 7.* From this day to the 16th instant nothing remarkable happened. I went frequently to see Mowat in the prison and did anything for him that he had to do as usual. He said that he was getting better of his boils but that his skin was all breaking out with the itch.

*August 17.* At 7 o'Clock p.m. they brought John Mowat out of the prison and put him under the care of Mr David Holms<sup>1</sup> to bring him to Montreal. In taking him out of the prison he fell and hurt his face with the handcuffs. Then he was assisted down to the waterside by two men, and as they were putting him into the canoe he again fell headlong amongst some kettles and luggage that they had standing in the middle of the canoe and cut his face with the handcuffs. Then I went up to the prison and brought down his things, but was not allowed to go near him nor speak to him. There was about two hundred people all in a mob, to see him brought down to the canoe. Then the canoe went off and I heard him call out Goodbye and he was crying.

This canoe was the last of twenty that had gone from Lake Superior to Montreal during our stay there.

*August 18.* Nothing remarkable occurred. The day following (being Sunday) the proprietors of the Norwest Company made an auction of dressed moose skins, and the Canadians from Montreal gave from forty to forty-five livres for each skin.

*August 20.* At 8 o'Clock a.m. Mr Corrigan got orders to get his things ready to start for Montreal at 4 o'Clock p.m. As I was assisting Mr Corrigan to carry his baggage to the waterside, Mr McLeod<sup>2</sup> ordered me to get my things ready and take my passage on board the schooner which was then laying ready to sail. Mr Corrigan went off at 5 o'Clock p.m., then I carried down my few things and went on board the schooner at 6 o'Clock p.m. At 7 Mr McLeod and Mr McKinzie came on board with two canoes to take their passage across the lake on board the schooner. I walked the deck till 9 p.m. and was never asked below nor yet got anything to eat (and I had ate nothing since morning that I had a little boiled Indian corn). Then several of my countrymen who had been sailors on board the ship *Eddy Stone*,<sup>3</sup> asked me down in the forecabin and gave me

<sup>1</sup> David Holmes, in the service of the North West Company at least since 1806. *Ibid.*, p. 219.

<sup>2</sup> Possibly Archibald Norman McLeod, who retired as a wintering partner from the North West Company in 1809, but may still have been at Fort William at this time (he was there as late as 1821). *Ibid.*, pp. 480-1.

<sup>3</sup> A Hudson's Bay Company vessel, used on the regular run from England to the Bay.



some salt pork and bread to eat, and I made up a place in the cabletier to sleep in.

*August 21.* Got underweigh at 5 o'Clock a.m. Calm all day, off the Thunder Mountains at 8 o'Clock p.m. I had nothing to eat during this day, only a little peasoup that I got from the sailors in the afternoon.

*August 22.* Light breezes with fog and rain all day. The weather continued much in the same way till the 24th instant. My living much the same as before described.

*August 25.* A betting wind all day with rain. At 5 o'Clock p.m. off Deer Island. The Captain and all the other gentlemen was below drinking after dinner. At  $\frac{1}{2}$  past 5 p.m. they all came upon deck and a fight or rather a mutiny ensued against the Captain, for while some of them was holding him the others were knocking him over the head with sticks and other weapons, one of which was the poker which McLeod had with which he struck and cut the Captain in such a manner so that the quarter deck was all covered with blood from the Captain. Then the Captain effected his escape from them and got up in the fore-top, where he stopped till 8 o'Clock p.m., the blood still running from him on deck and it was very cold and raining at the time so that between the cold and the beating that he got he became speechless. Then the sailors went up with a tail block and lowered him down and brought him in the fore-castle and put him to bed where he lay till the next morning hardly able to turn himself. My living this day was the same as usual.

*August 26.* McLeod came to the fore-castle and asked the Captain to come aft and take charge of the vessel, which he unwillingly complied to as there was not one on board that could find their way to St Mary's.<sup>1</sup> The Captain gave orders what course to steer, but could not see the compass himself, both his eyes being shut up.

*August 27.* A fair wind we cast anchor at St Marys at 12 o'Clock at noon. McLeod and McKinzie went on shore with both their canoes and fourteen men in each. At 3 o'Clock p.m. I went on shore to enquire at Mr McLeod how I was to get a passage to Montreal. He told me that I should go down with the laden canoes and showed me the canoe and people that I was to go with and at the same time told me that I must work my passage, and he told Mr Logan<sup>2</sup> who was Master at the place to give me some pork and flour for my passage to Montreal. At half past 6 p.m. McLeod and McKinzie went off to go to St Joseph's Island. At

<sup>1</sup> Sault Ste Marie.

<sup>2</sup> Robert Logan, stationed at Sault Ste Marie at least since 1806 (*ibid.*, pp. 221, 264). He was persuaded by Colin Robertson to leave the North West Company for the Hudson's Bay Company in 1814; was appointed to look after Selkirk's affairs at Red River in 1819, and in 1823 became a Councillor of Assiniboia. *H.B.R.S.*, II, 228-9.

7 p.m. I went on board to bring my things on shore. I was well entertained on board the schooner. Came on shore at 8 p.m. and passed the remainder of the evening with Mr Logan who gave me a good supper and a bed to sleep on.

*August 28.* Got breakfast with Mr Logan, after which I got 18lb of flour and 13lb of pork for my passage. At 3 o'Clock p.m. we start with a big canoe laden with fifty packages of furs and six men to work the canoe besides me. We camped at the entrance of Lake Huron at 6 o'Clock p.m. Eight canoes in company with us.

*August 29.* Start at 4 o'Clock a.m. Sailed through Lake Huron all day. Camped at 6 o'Clock p.m. I had nothing to cook my flour and pork into. Was obliged to wait till the Canadians had boiled their corn, then I made pancakes on the bottom of the kettle for to serve me for the night and likewise for the ensuing day.

*August 30.* Start at 4 o'Clock a.m., light breezes, sailed all day. At 5 o'Clock p.m. stoke two canoes from Michellamackanac. At 6 p.m. rain with squalls. Camped at la Cloche<sup>1</sup> in Lake Huron.

*August 31.* Start at 3 o'Clock a.m. a heavy swell in the lake, the canoes shipped water and wet the packs. At 9 o'Clock a.m. we went on shore to dry the furs at the entrance of the French River. We start again at 2 o'Clock p.m. the current against us. Passed three rapids and one portage. Camped at 7 o'Clock p.m. Rained all night so hard that I was wet all over through two blankets, sleeping under a bushy tree. This night while I was asleep the Canadians belonging to the other canoes thieved all my provisions, and I was obliged to apply to the people belonging to the canoe that I was in for a little of their corn and grease which they were very ready to supply me with whenever I required it.

*September 1.* Start at 4 o'Clock a.m. Passed several rapids and one portage. Camped at 7 O'Clock a.m.

*September 2.* Start at 3 o'Clock a.m. Passed six rapids and five portages, the last of which in hauling the canoe up by water the line broke and the canoe ran foul of a rock that lay in the middle of the fall and broke in two about six feet from the head. Lost one bag of corn and wet my lumber bag and all that was in it. Then the other canoes and people came up and assisted us to get the canoe off the rock. We got all our things gathered together and stopped for the night to repair our canoe. Rained very hard all the evening. Had our canoe repaired at 8 o'Clock p.m.

*September 3.* Start at 4 o'Clock a.m., overtook the other canoes at

<sup>1</sup> For a description of this site, and its naming, see Eric W. Morse, *Fur Trade Canoe Routes of Canada|Then and Now* (Ottawa, 1969), p. 66.

10 o'Clock a.m. Passed four rapids and three portages and part of Lake Neepeesang.<sup>1</sup> Camped at 8 o'Clock p.m.

*September 4.* We start at 8 o'Clock a.m., went to the other end of the lake and entered Nishanaby River<sup>2</sup> 10 o'Clock a.m. Passed two rapids and two portages. Camped at 7 o'Clock p.m. Saw two Indians.

*September 5.* We were stopped by the rain till 11 o'Clock a.m., then we start and passed two rapids and two portages, had the current with us at 4 p.m. Camped at 6 o'Clock p.m. Had nothing to eat since morning.

*September 6.* Start at 7 o'Clock a.m. Passed seven rapids and five portages. Spoke two canoes from Detroit bound to Montreal load with furs. We camped at 7 p.m.

*September 7.* Start at 7 o'Clock a.m. Passed five rapids and three portages. Entered the Grand River<sup>3</sup> at 6 o'Clock p.m. where we camped. Rain all night.

*September 8.* We start at 7 o'Clock a.m. Passed eleven rapids and one portage. Saw three canoes from Montreal load with goods for Timinskaming. We likewise saw two canoes from Michelamackanac loaden with furs for Montreal. We camped at half past 7 o'Clock p.m. I went a fishing, caught three fish.

*September 9.* We start at daybreak. We were stopped by the rain at 8 a.m. till 12 at noon, then start again and went till 2 p.m. then we went on shore and passed the remainder of the day drying the furs that was all alive with maggots. Saw one big canoe bound for Montreal. I went a fishing, caught one fish.

*September 10.* Start at 7 o'Clock a.m. Passed two portages and six rapids and camped at 8 o'Clock p.m. Rain all night. Put ourselves on half allowance of corn.

*September 11.* Start at 4 o'Clock a.m. Passed one small lake and two portages and one rapid. Camped at 5 o'Clock p.m.

*September 12.* We start at daybreak. At 9 o'Clock a.m. we arrived at Fort Quibon, a trading post belonging to the North West Company. The Canadians traded some moose-skins for potatoes and rum which they gave me share of. We start again at 12 o'Clock at noon and camped at 8 o'Clock p.m. in the middle of the Pipe Portage<sup>4</sup> which is two miles long.

*September 13.* Start at 5 o'Clock a.m. Got over the other part of the Pipe Portage by 9 a.m. Passed six rapids and three portages more by 3 o'Clock p.m., then stopped to dry the packs till sunset. Start again and went till 9 o'Clock p.m. then we stopped for the night. Made no fire but slept in the long grass along the river side all night.

<sup>1</sup> Lake Nipissing.    <sup>2</sup> Probably Mattawa River.    <sup>3</sup> Ottawa River.

<sup>4</sup> Grand Calumet Portage, the longest portage east of Grand Portage.



*September 14.* We start at 3 o'Clock a.m. Passed Dog Lake and portage and arrived at Mr Camran's<sup>1</sup> house at 1 o'Clock p.m. When we arrived Mr Camron came down to the beach and enquired at the Canadians who I was and what business I had come to Canada. They told him, then he came to me and shook hands with me and wished me good success and asked me up to his house. Gave me a good dinner and as much wine and rum as I choosed to drink, and gave me some meat and bread off with me and a bottle of rum and told me that he would be at Montreal very soon, and if I should be in want of any thing he would be willing to serve me. We start again at 4 o'Clock p.m. with a fair wind and sailed down the Lake de Shat<sup>2</sup> till 12 o'Clock at night. Saw the light from the windows of several farm houses during the night which gave me much comfort to think that I had got amongst civilized people once more.

*September 15.* Start at 3 o'Clock a.m. Passed three portages and arrived at Wrights town 4 o'Clock p.m. where we stopped to dry the furs till 6 o'Clock p.m., then start again and went to the lower side of the Rabbit River, where we camped. The Canadians traded some Indian shoes for bread, butter and potatoes which they gave me share of.

*September 16.* Start at daybreak, went till 9 o'Clock a.m. then stopped at a farmer's house (of the name of Fox) to buy fish. He asked me up to his house and gave me some bread and milk for breakfast, and some potatoes to take off with me. Here we took a passenger on board to carry to his father's that was about fourteen miles further down the river. We start from here at 11 o'Clock a.m. Our passenger left us at 1 o'Clock p.m. We camped at 9 p.m. at the head of the long rapid.<sup>3</sup> Here the Canadians took guides for to run the canoes down the rapid in the morning.

*September 17.* We start at 9 o'Clock a.m. Passed the long rapid which is nine miles long, put our guides on shore and stopped to dry the furs from 11 o'Clock a.m. till 2 o'Clock p.m. Then we start and went till 4 o'Clock p.m. Went on shore to trade potatoes, we had nothing to eat since last night. I gave the shoes off my feet for a little bread. We start again at half past 6 o'Clock p.m., entered Lake de deux montagne<sup>4</sup> at 7 o'Clock p.m., got across the lake at 11 o'Clock p.m., went on shore to stop for the night. Very dark with rain, I fell amongst the rocks and

<sup>1</sup> Cameron (first name not traced) was, according to John McNab of the Hudson's Bay Company who spent a night at his dwelling in 1812, 'the first colonist' at the Chats. McNab wrote in his journal: 'He has here a farmstead consisting of a large Barn, a Yard for his Cattle, Hogs, Poultry &c fronting it surrounded on three sides by open Sheds & railing — here stood 18 or 20 black cattle, a Horse & filley, several hogs, &c the extent of his farm 1200 acres above 100 of which are cleared producing Wheat, Indn.Corn, Potatoes &c. he also keeps a store of Articles for Indn.Trade. . . . ' B.135/a/102, 22 February 1812.

<sup>2</sup> Lac des Chats.

<sup>3</sup> The Long Sault.

<sup>4</sup> Lake of Two Mountains.

cut my knee. We could find no wood to make a fire with. I went to sleep amongst the rocks in a very dejected state with hunger and cold, and very much fatigued.

*September 18.* Start at 3 o'Clock a.m., went till 9 a.m. then we stopped at Mr John Forbes' house to give him a letter that I had brought from Lake Superior for him. This John Forbes<sup>1</sup> was formerly in the Hudson's Bay Company's service, but ran away from there to the North West Company and now keeps a tavern at the upper end of Montreal Island. He treated me with a glass of rum and we start again and went till we came to la Chine at half past 12 o'Clock at noon. Here all the canoes landed their furs to be sent to Montreal by land, the river being too shoal and rapidly to bring them down by water; we start from la Chine at 2 o'Clock p.m., passed several dangerous rapids and arrived at Montreal at 4 o'Clock p.m. The Canadians stopped opposite the new market to put some packs of leather on shore, and told me that I might walk up along shore to where they were going to land the canoes. While they were putting the packs on shore a gentleman by the name of Robert Wilson<sup>2</sup> came to me and asked me if I was not a stranger in town. I told him I was, and gave him to understand how I was situate, told him on what business I had come to Canada, and that I knew no person and consequently had no person to consult with, and had nothing in my pocket. Never mind, said he, I'll look into that and see that you are provided for till you have an opportunity of seeing the Solicitor-General, who will undoubtedly intercede for you. Then he told the Canadians to put my things on shore, and he assisted me to carry them up to a tavern where he ordered a good dinner for me and plenty to drink, and asked the landlady to provide a lodging for me, and he would pay for all. He likewise gave me two dollars for pocket money and told me that when it was done I should have some more. I made the best apology that I could, and told him that according to my present circumstance I was not sure when I would enabled to pay him for his kindness. He told me that if I never was able, he would never require it from me and so took his departure. I passed the

<sup>1</sup>John Forbes, of Firth, Mainland, in the Orkneys, joined the Hudson's Bay Company in 1790, but during the spring of 1803 deserted to the Canadians. He seems to have been employed as a clerk and interpreter by the North West Company in the English [Churchill] River department in 1804 and 1806. The date of his retirement from the fur trade is not known; the tavern referred to here was apparently located at present-day Ste Anne de Bellevue. *H.B.R.S.*, XXVI, 244n.

<sup>2</sup>Efforts to discover more about Robert Wilson have failed, though there was someone of that name living at 1, Brock Street, Montreal, at about this time. See Thomas Doige, *An Alphabetical List of the Merchants, Traders, and Housekeepers residing in Montreal* (Montreal, 1819). His name does not appear in any of the Company records of the period, nor does he seem to have met Colin Robertson when the latter arrived in Montreal in 1814 to set up a Hudson's Bay Company agency and base of operations in the city. He remains as he appears in the pages of Tate's journal, an unknown, faintly mysterious, benefactor.

remainder of the evening very comfortably and overjoyed to think that I had met with such a friend so unexpectedly.

*September 19.* After breakfast I got information to where Mr Wilson lived and went to see him at his house. He received me kindly and treated me with a good dinner. Then he came along with me to the Solicitor-General,<sup>1</sup> who told me that he could do nothing for me. Then Mr Wilson came along with me to my lodging and he again treated me with some wine and told me to keep a good heart, that although the Solicitor would do nothing for me, by and by I would get better acquaint and be enabled to do for myself. At 3 o'Clock p.m. Mr Wilson left me. Then I went to look over old clothes and tie up my few shirts to get sent to the washing. I had been very short in the room, till a servant of the Northwest Gentlemen (that I had known at Lake Superior) came into the room and told me that he was glad he had found me, that he had been all over the town seeking me and that Mr McGillivray<sup>2</sup> wished very much to see me. Accordingly I went along with this man, and he brought me to a warehouse belonging to the North West Company, upstairs where several of their servants were employed in assorting and packing furs etc., but Mr McGillivray was not there. Then seeing that Mr McGillivray was not there I asked the man to come along with me to where Mr McGillivray was, but he said that I had better stop for he expected Mr McGillivray in every moment. I stopped about ten minutes, then I heard some of the people that was at work, saying, Here he comes, here he comes. I turned on the stairhead to make room for Mr McGillivray as I thought, but to my great surprise it was a Constable who laid hold of me and told me that I was his prisoner and that I must go along with him and he brought me before Thomas McCord, Justice of the Peace, who examined me about the affair of the 16th September 1809, after which he began to write my commitment. Then I asked him, what I had done, that I was taken prisoner for. That is best known to yourself replied he. I told him that I knew of nothing that I had done amiss to anybody. Well said he, if you do not know I'll tell you, You are charged on oath, of being present aiding and abetting one John Mowatt, in the murder of Eneas McDonall in the Indian territory,<sup>3</sup> and to jail you must go. But I mean to call you up for further examination tomorrow. Then the Constable brought me to the jailor's room and gave him the commitment. He has no sooner looked on it or he called for his son, Tom (who was assistant turnkey), and said to him Bring along this fellow and put him in the felon's room number 4. Shocking as this was I

<sup>1</sup> Stephen Sewell, brother of the Chief Justice of Lower Canada, Jonathan Sewell.

<sup>2</sup> William McGillivray, the powerful figure who had been chief director of the North West Company since 1804.

<sup>3</sup> The term used is significant; see p. 102.



was obliged to submit to it and soon arrived at my destiny, shut up in a vault six feet under ground, amongst about twelve or fourteen thieves and muderers and such like who was all swarming with vermin. I sat down on an old chair that was in the place and began to reflect on fortune for using me so hard, and soon after I fell asleep but was soon awakened by the rats treading on my feet. Some of the other prisoners then rose and lighted a candle to see to kill some of the rats, and I dare say that there was no less or two hundred on the floor. In the bustle I had occasion to pocket, and to my great consternation I found that the two dollars Mr Wilson had given me the preceding night was gone and my pocket handkerchief. Who to blame for this I did not know, so I was obliged to bear the loss and content myself the best way that I could.

*September 20.* Mr Wilson (who had heard of my fate) came to see me at the grate and brought with him some bread, butter and eggs, and a bottle of beer for my breakfast. I told him of the misfortune I had met with in losing the two dollars he had given me and my pocket handkerchief. Never mind, said he, You'll get over it all, and put his hand in his pocket and gave me three dollars, and told me that he would try to get another man with himself to go bail for me, and see to get me a situation where I could gain some money, till such time as my trial came on. At 12 o'Clock at noon, I was brought to the police office by the jailor, before McCord for further examination. He asked me very few questions more then I had related the evening before. Mr Wilson then came in and Mr James Anderson along with him, and both offered to go bail for me. Mr McCord told them that he could in no wise admit me to be bailed, except the Chief Justice would be bail for me himself. Mr Wilson and Anderson entreated him very much to accept their offer but all to no purpose, I was fully committed for trial. My good friend Mr Wilson accompanied me to the prison and begged of the jailor not to put me amongst the felons as he truly believed that I was innocent of the charge laid against me. The jailor said he had no other place to put me into but amongst the debtors and did not believe that they would allow me to be amongst them. Nevertheless we went in to enquire and as Mr Wilson knew several of the debtors he got their permission that I should be amongst them, provided that I behaved myself in a proper manner. This apartment was exactly the same as the one I had been in the preceding night but the people was quite otherwise, and I found myself much more comfortable, and studied to make myself as complaisant as possible, with a view that they should have no complaint to lodge against me during my stay, for as for the other place that I was lodged into the preceding night, I feared it.

*September 21.* I wrote to Mr Wilson to see if he could get my blanket

and clothes sent to me that I had left at the tavern I lodged into on my arrival in town. Soon after Mr Wilson arrived with my things, then he went and brought me a straw bed, which I found to be very comfortable as I had nothing before but the hard floor to lie upon. Then he went and agreed with a man (by the name of Adam Scott<sup>1</sup>) to bring me some victuals twice every day, and he should see him paid for it when he brought his bill in.

*September 22.* I got my allowance of bread and water for the first time. Mr Scott likewise brought me some victuals according to his agreement with Mr Wilson.

*September 23.* Five prisoners were brought in which raised our number to nineteen, and the room being but small we were much crowded. We passed this night rather uncomfortable but the day following those five prisoners were removed to another room and we had our apartment as usual.

*September 25.* John Mowat who arrived in town the night before was brought in. He was brought to the jailor's room by the same man that took him in charge at Lake Superior, and he had his irons on, when he brought him in, but the jailor, who was an Englishman, abused the man that brought Mowat in very much, and took Mowat's irons off and hove them without the door. Previous to John Mowat's arrival I had told the jailor all the particulars with regard to our coming to Canada and also told him to who we belonged in England. He said he knew the Hudson's Bay Company's hall very well, and promised to treat us with as much lenity as possibly he could. John Mowat was then sent in and got permission to take up his abode in the same room with me. He told me all his adventures during the passage from Lake Superior which was much similar to my own. I asked him if he had seen Mr Corrigan. He said he had not, which made me very uneasy. I had some meat by me which I gave Mowat share of which he seemed to relish, and told me it was the first of the kind he had tasted since he took his departure from me at Lake Superior.

*September 26.* Nothing occurred worth mentioning.

*September 27.* Mr Corrigan arrived and was brought in to partake share of our fate, an event which him and me little thought to have met with on our departure from Eagle Lake. At 2 p.m. Mr Scott brought me my dinner and I sent out a man that attended the prisoners with part of the money I had from Mr Wilson to buy some more meat

<sup>1</sup> 'A prominent merchant of Montreal', and a leading member of the Scotch Presbyterian Church in Montreal. See Robert Campbell, *A History of the Scotch Presbyterian Church, St. Gabriel Street, Montreal* (Montreal, 1887).

sufficient to serve us three for dinner, and at night Mr Corrigan partook share of my straw bed with me. The 28th nothing occurred worth remarking.

*September 29.* Mr Alexander Simpson came to the jail and offered to find us with victuals. Then Mr Corrigan and John Mowat thankfully accepted of, but I did not think it provident to leave off taking my victuals from Mr Scott, till I had had an opportunity of seeing Mr Wilson as he had provided for me hitherto.

*September 30.* Mr Simpson sent Mr Corrigan and Mowat some victuals for the first time. I again got my allowance of bread and water, the bread I sold for beer and other necessaries.

*October 1.* Nothing extraordinary occurred. The day following Mr Georgen<sup>1</sup> came to the jail to consult with some of his clients, and the jailor advised us to fee Mr Georgen as attorney for us. Accordingly Mr Corrigan agreed with him to act in our behalf. The first step to be taken was to write to the Company, which Mr Georgen promised to do the first opportunity.<sup>2</sup>

*October 3.* Mr Wilson sent a boy for my dirty clothes to get them washed. Nothing further of any consequence occurred to us till the 13th instant. During this time I got the jailor's son to go and buy me a pair of shoes as the weather was getting rather cold and I had not a stitch of shoes to put on. Mr Wilson sent his boy with my clothes from the washing. Several of the debtors got out during this period by their weekly money not being at the time appointed.

*October 13.* Mr Wilson came to see me and brought me a bottle of rum and enquired how Mr Scott served me with provisions. I told him that Mr Scott served me very well, but as Mr Corrigan and John Mowat had their victuals from Mr Simpson I thought it would be more convenient for us all three to have it from the same person. This Mr Wilson agreed to and went to Mr Scott and told him to bring in his bill, which he did, which came to one dollar per day for every day he had served me with provisions. Mr W. paid the bill, and I agreed to have my victuals from Mr Simpson for the time to come.

Nothing further of any consequence occurred to us, but what anybody placed in our situation might expect — till the 28th of December. Mr William McKay came to the jail and brought £50 with him which he begged of Mr Corrigan to receive and he would take a bill on Mr Corrigan's banker in England for the amount. Accordingly after much hesitation

<sup>1</sup> Henry Georgen, a Montreal advocate.

<sup>2</sup> His letter to the Hudson's Bay Company, dated 4 October, was received in London on 29 November and read by the Committee on 5 December 1810. A.5/5, fo. 30d.; A.1/50, fos. 10, 11d.



Mr Corrigan accepted of the money — as both him and us were very much in need of it.<sup>1</sup>

*December 29.* I borrowed one pound from Mr Corrigan and sent out and bought one shirt, a handkerchief and a pair of stockings and several other little necessities. At this time I only had one whole shirt and as for stockings I had none.

*December 30.* From this date to the 15th January nothing very particular happened to us. By this time the cold had set in pretty severe and we had but little firing, which occasioned our situation to be very uncomfortable, having very few clothes to keep us warm.

*January 16, 1811.* Mr Simpson (by desire of Mr Corrigan) brought in his bill which amounted to £10.18s.4½d. including payment for Mr Corrigan's washing since his arrival in our present abode.

By this time we had got information who was the best and most approved of attorneys in this place, and as we heard every person give Mr Stuart<sup>2</sup> the preference we thought it would be very expedient for to fee him as our chief conductor. Accordingly he was sent for, and agreed with us as above-mentioned, and Mr Corrigan gave him five guineas. Nothing further of any consequence till the 21st instant.

*January 21.* Mr Stuart who had been informed by some of our enemies that Mr Georgen had been feed by Mr Corrigan to be chief manager of our case in preference to him, was affronted, and sent Mr Corrigan a letter and part of the money that he had received enclosed in the letter, and saying that he meant to decline from acting for us. This put us in great consternation, but to know the result Mr Stuart was sent for and told us his reasons for doing so, but we quite convinced him to the contrary of all he had heard with regard to Mr Georgen, and accordingly he agreed to act for us before. Thus everything agreed upon, we passed our time (according to our situation) pretty comfortable without any further occurrence till the 23rd February.

*February 23.* To our great consolation we received a letter by Mr Georgen from Alexander Lean Esquire,<sup>3</sup> telling us that the Company

<sup>1</sup> The bill was subsequently honoured by the Hudson's Bay Company in London. See A.1/50, fos. 22, 95d.

<sup>2</sup> James Stuart, a notable figure in Canadian legal history in the early nineteenth century. He had been appointed Solicitor-General of Lower Canada in 1805 at the age of twenty-five, but was dismissed in 1809 after disputes with the Governor (see William Kingsford, *The History of Canada*, Vol. VIII (Toronto, 1895), pp. 74–6, 430–4). From 1808 to 1820 he was a member for Montreal in the Legislative Assembly; and it was during this period that he acted as Selkirk's counsel in Montreal (see Chester Martin, *Lord Selkirk's Work in Canada* (Oxford, 1916), p. 149). The peak of his career was reached when as Sir James Stuart he served as Chief Justice of Lower Canada from 1841 to 1853. W. S. Wallace, *Macmillan Dictionary of Canadian Biography* (1963), p. 724.

<sup>3</sup> Secretary of the Hudson's Bay Company since 1792.

had wrote to William B. Coltman Esquire,<sup>1</sup> in Quebec, to supply us with what necessities we wanted.<sup>2</sup> This certainly was the first and greatest gratification we had met with during our captivity. At 9 o'Clock p.m. Mr Corrigan received a letter from Mr Coltman which confirmed the aforesaid, and promising his assistance in every particular.

*February 24.* Mr Coltman came to the jail to see us and advised Mr Corrigan to send for Mr Stuart and let him know that we had heard from the Company, and likewise to consult with him to see what would be the most necessary steps to take before the trial came on. Accordingly Mr Stuart was sent for, and after a long consultation Mr Corrigan gave his deposition against Joseph Perisien, for breaking in and by force of arms carrying away equal to forty beaver skins or more out of a house belonging to the Honourable Hudson's Bay Company, under his direction at a place called Bad Lake. Nothing further of consequence occurred to us till the second of March.

*March 2.* We received a duplicate of the above-mentioned letter from England. This day the Grand Jury was chosen and we were very dubious that we would be brought to trial, which would have been of serious consequence to us, having no person to give evidence in our behalf. Accordingly in case such a thing should happen, I got advice to write the following statement to the Court.

<sup>1</sup> William Bachelor Coltman, a Quebec merchant who was appointed a member of the Executive Council of Lower Canada in 1812. Four years later he was made a Commissioner to investigate the disturbances in the Red River Settlement. See *H.B.R.S.*, I, 435; Wallace, *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, p. 129.

<sup>2</sup> The letter in fact did more than this. Dated 5 December 1810 it was written by Joseph Berens, Deputy Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, and ran:

'On the Behalf of the Hudson's Bay Company of which I have the honour of being the Deputy Governor I felt much concerned in the Statement of the inclosed Letter transmitted to the Board by Mr Georgen & mainly confirmed by the Journals received from our own Officers in the Country, and I applied to my Friend Mrs John Elmsley to give me some information respecting Mr Georgen & also some advice as to the most proper professional Assistance that we should apply to at Montreal for the Defence of the poor Men mentioned in that Statement.

Mrs Elmsley had been so long absent from the Province that her recollection could not furnish me with Names of any Gentleman of the Canadian Bar except that of Mr Servel [Sewell?], & as it is possible that he may be engaged to prosecute the Prisoners she referred me to you to recommend such legal aid for these poor Men as your local knowledge & long personal acquaintance with the province might be able to point out to us. I am perfectly aware how many Apologies are due for the trouble I am giving you in requesting you to place the conduct of these Mens defence in safe, legal hands; but I venture to do so upon the Assurance of Mrs Elmsley that you would readily give your Assistance in a Matter so important to the individuals concern'd.

Might I further request that you would have the goodness to discharge such legal expenses as may be incurred, as well as to reimburse yourself by drawing on the Hudson's Bay Company for the Amount, together with such Commission & other charges as may be incidental to the Business, & to advance to the Prisoners such Money as may be necessary for them for their subsistence.

The firm belief on my own Mind that these Men have only acted in Self defence & that they have been most oppressively treated give me more than an ordinary interest in their fate & will I trust operate upon your mind as an additional reason for my venturing to apply to the only source from whence I could hope to derive any effectual Assistance for them.' A.5/5, fo. 30-30d.

'On the sixteenth of September one thousand eight hundred and nine, being then in the employ of the Hudson's Bay Company at the post of Eagle Lake in the Indian Territory in the boundaries of the said Company under the direction of William Corrigan conductor for that post, several persons belonging to a Company known by the name of the North West Company, came in a very hostile manner, to wit one with pistols, another with a sword etc., which said persons made towards a canoe which was then laying near the shore containing goods belonging to the said Hudson's Bay Company, which they laid hold of and was dragging away. I then was ordered by the said William Corrigan to go and protect the Company's property; in so doing I was assaulted by one Eneas McDonald who struck me with his fist on my cheek. Still endeavouring to get the said goods out of the said canoe he the said McDonald drew his sword and cut and wounded me in several places very dangerously, while Jaques A Dhemar was standing close by with his pistols hands threatening my life. I then endeavoured to make my escape from these assassins and heard the said Jaques A Dhemar call out in French for their men to come. I immediately saw several of them under arms and one of them by the name of Joseph Perisien came running with an axe in his hand and made a stroke for my head, which stroke I had the good fortune to guard off with my right arm or without a doubt must have split my head. On my way towards the house I saw the said McDonald running after and striking at several of our people with his sword, who amongst the said people was John Mowat and one John Corrigan whom the said McDonald cut to the bone in his right arm and he likewise made a stroke at the said John Mowat and cut his waistcoat across on his breast. I then went into the house but had not been a minute or two there till I heard a shot, by which shot the said Jaques A Dhemar and Joseph Perisien state that the aforesaid McDonald was killed but he, the said A Dhemar, declared to me that he did not know who fired the shot till after John Mowat had delivered himself up to them at Eagle Lake.'

'On the twenty-fourth of September, John Halden with a number of his men arrived at Eagle Lake, and on the twenty-fifth Archibald McLellan from Lake la Pluie arrived with a number of his men also. I was standing without the gate of a temporary fortification that our people had raised for the preservation of our lives from these invaders, when Archibald McLellan was landing he took his gun and aimed and fired. I only or a person near me must have been the object. Then ten men that was in the canoe with him all arose with guns in their hands apparently as they meant to fire, but on the call of some person from the shore no fire was made, but all came on shore with their guns in the hands. Afterwards



John Halden, McLellan and A Dhemar these three with a number of other men belonging to the aforesaid persons, came over to our house and demanded the prisoner, meaning he that fired at the aforesaid McDonal, and said as they did not know who he was, we had better deliver him up to them, otherwise they would pop us off one by one as we came out of the house, and what they could not accomplish themselves they would get the Indians to do for them. As one was required for the preservation of the whole, John Mowat voluntarily delivered himself up to them as their prisoner and freely went over to them and put himself in their custody. The morning following he, the said John Mowat, was put in irons by the aforesaid John Halden, in consequence of which I voluntarily came along with him to bear witness to their treatment to him, and likewise to give evidence of the aforesaid proceedings when we arrived at Montreal. I then expected to go directly for Montreal but instead of which they detained me and the prisoner from the time before-mentioned to the September following. When I arrived in Montreal as an evidence in behalf of John Mowat, I was apprehended, taken into custody and charged as an accessory in aiding and abetting in the murder of Eneas McDonal, and committed to gaol where I have been in close confinement from September last to the present. Although I know myself to be entirely innocent of these charges or any charge as a violation of the laws of my country, yet I feel myself not safe to go to trial under such base opponents, till sufficient witnesses in my behalf can be had, which can and will be procured if time is allowed.'

*March 3.* Mr Corrigan wrote to Mr Eneas Shaw (being Justice of the Peace for the Indian District) to come to the jail and grant a warrant for the apprehending of Joseph Perisien, but previous to this we were informed that Mr Shaw had heard that Mr Corrigan had given his deposition against the aforesaid Joseph Perisien and that he the said Eneas Shaw had sent him off into the country to prevent him to be apprehended. At 11 o'Clock a.m. Mr Corrigan was brought before the Grand Jury to swear to his deposition against Perisien. At 11 o'Clock p.m. we were cheered with the good news that the Grand Jury had found no bill against Mr Corrigan or me, but at the same time that they had found a bill against John Mowat. Nevertheless it gave us great comfort to think that we would be enabled to give evidence in his behalf sufficient to clear him also.

*March 4.* John Mowat was brought up to Court purposely to be asked when he would be ready for trial, but Mr Stuart moved that the enquiry should postponed till such time as Mr Corrigan and me would be discharged. The day following nothing particular occurred.

*March 6.* Mr Corrigan was again brought before the Grand Jury and underwent a cross examination concerning Joseph Perisien.

*March 7.* At half past 11 o'Clock a.m. Mr Corrigan and me brought before the Court and discharged from the charge laid against us. At 9 o'Clock p.m. we were summoned to appear at the Court by 9 of the clock the ensuing to give evidence in John Mowat's case. During the evening by the advice of Mr Stuart, Mr Corrigan and me were getting our depositions made out against Jaques A Dhemar. Mr Corrigan's deposition against A Dhemar was for having on the 16th September 1809 aided and abetted the aforesaid McDonal by the force of arms in dispossessing us of the aforesaid canoe and goods, and my deposition against him was for aiding and abetting the aforesaid McDonal in cutting and wounding in several places, and at the same time he himself for assaulting me and threatening my life with his pistols at the aforesaid time.

*March 8.* At 9 o'Clock a.m. John Mowat's trial came on and there was several witnesses brought to witness against him (by the North West Company) that I am able to give oath was not at present when the aforesaid McDonal was killed. At 9 o'Clock p.m. the charge was given to the jury, and it was generally thought and said by most of the spectators that this charge was given with great partiality on behalf of the deceased McDonal. It was thought by almost everybody present that Mr Corrigan's testimony and mine was sufficient to entitle John Mowat to an immediate discharge from the bar. The jury went out at 9 o'Clock p.m. Six of them could speak English and the other six were French Canadians whom I was told afterwards by one of the said jury had been bribed by Mr Shaw and others of the North West Company to bring Mowat in guilty.

*March 9.* At 8 o'Clock a.m. the jury came in for a fresh charge, as they said they did not thoroughly understand the charge they had got the preceding night. There was a fresh charge given them in English and French, and they again went into their room, and at half past 10 o'Clock a.m. they returned with their verdict Guilty of manslaughter. Accordingly John Mowat's sentence was passed by Judge Reid<sup>1</sup> that he should be confined for six months in the common jail and then be branded on the left thumb.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> James Reid was born in Scotland in 1769, and came to Canada in about 1788. He was called to the bar in Lower Canada in 1794, and was appointed a judge of the court of the King's Bench at Montreal in 1807. He was married to a sister of William McGillivray, and was an executor of Simon McTavish's will. Wallace, *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, II, 551; Campbell, *Scotch Presbyterian Church*, p. 242.

<sup>2</sup> On this, Selkirk wrote: 'In the case of Mowat, it is well known that several partners of the North-West Company were upon the grand jury which found the bill of indictment; and out of four judges, who sat upon the bench, two were nearly related to individuals of that Association. In the course of the trial circumstances occurred, which could not have taken place in a court of justice in

John Mowat's destiny being fixed, Mr Stuart went on and got prosecutions against A Dhemar, and he and John Mowat both went to jail together but in the course of an hour's time A Dhemar was bailed out by Mr Shaw and others of the North West Company for five hundred pounds. Then there was a Bench warrant issued for the apprehension of Joseph Perisien, but he could not be found and indeed there was no particular search made after him. Nothing more of any consequence happened to us till the 12th instant.

*March 12.* Mr Corrigan and me were summoned to appear at the police office and was bound over to prosecute Jaques A Dhemar and Joseph Perisien. Mr Corrigan was bound over in £100 to prosecute A Dhemar and in £50 to prosecute Perisien, and I was bound over in £25 to prosecute A Dhemar. Then Mr Corrigan and me went to Mr Coltman (who was then in Montreal) to enquire at him which would be the best way to proceed, and likewise to see if there could be any possibility for us to get home as soon as possible as we did not wish to get involved in further trouble if possible. Mr Coltman said that he did not think it proper for us to go home till we had prosecuted the above-mentioned persons, but at the same time that we would be better to consult Mr Stuart about it. Accordingly we both went to Mr Stuart to enquire at him, and he told us

England, without exciting indignation from one end of the kingdom to the other. The counsel for the prisoner was repeatedly interrupted in his cross-examination of the witnesses for the prosecution, by the judges prompting the witness, and helping him to preserve his consistency. One of these witnesses, however, did on his cross-examination, acknowledge facts totally inconsistent with the evidence which he had given upon his examination in chief, and upon this, one of the judges interrupted the counsel in an angry tone, and reproached him for having made the witness contradict himself. It was with great difficulty that the advocate for the prisoner could obtain leave to address the jury on the point of law, and to explain the distinction between murder and justifiable homicide. His argument was repeatedly interrupted from the bench; and, notwithstanding the clearest evidence that Mac Donnel began the fray in the most unprovoked and unprincipled manner, — that he was engaged in an act of direct robbery, and that he was threatening the lives of Mowat and his fellow-servants at the time he was shot; it was the opinion of the bench, that the man who killed him was guilty of *murder*, and such was their charge to the jury. After a consultation of fifteen or sixteen hours, the jury brought in a verdict of *manslaughter*.

Among the many minor irregularities in the proceedings, it may be observed, that no sufficient evidence was produced as to the place, where the act was committed, being within the jurisdiction of the court. The spot must in fact have been, either within the limits of Upper Canada, or of the territory of the Hudson's Bay Company. . . . Selkirk, *Sketch of the British Fur Trade* (London, 1816).

When the news of the result of the trial reached London. Deputy Governor Berens wrote to Coltman & Co. on 26 August 1811: 'I have no doubt that the Experience & eminent Talents of Mr Stewart we[re] so exerted as to elicit the real Truth of the Transaction, in which probably it might appear that Mowat had too hastily resorted to the use of Fire Arms: but from our Accounts, which (in truth) are but the relations of our Servants it seemed that MacDougall's Sword was first drawn & not only drawn, but used in the affray before the Shot was fired. I am however fully aware of the little dependence, that can ever be placed upon exparte Statements & am perfectly satisfied, that every thing the greatest professional Skill could effect was done on the behalf of the poor fellow & beg that should opportunity offer you would have the goodness to communicate the hearty thanks of the Governor & myself to Mr Stewart for his attention to the Interests of our Servants.' A.5/5, fo. 50d.



that we could in nowise leave Canada till the sessions of the September ensuing was past, otherwise we would be sure to lose all the money that we had been bound over for at the police office for, if not more, and said that his advice to us would be to stop in Canada till everything was comfortably settled, and said that he was sure we would succeed in what we had undertaken.

Since our release we stopped with the jailor till the 19th instant and had some clothes etc. made for us, as we had nothing anywise decent to put on to go out in the street with, and knew that if we were anyways conspicuous that everybody's eyes would be upon us.

*March 19.* Mr Simpson sent word to us saying that he would be very glad to see us at his house. In the evening we received our clothes etc. from the tailor, after which we went to see Mr Simpson who received us very kindly and wished us to board and lodge at his house. Accordingly as he had been our friend and supplied us with board during our captivity we thought that it would be as good for us to be supplied by him now also. Accordingly we commenced boarding and lodging with him the same night, at the rate of ten dollars per month. Nothing further occurred to us till the 21st instant.

*March 21.* I got an order from Mr John Coltman<sup>1</sup> on Mr Auldjo<sup>2</sup> for £15, went and paid the tailor for my clothes, I likewise went to Mr Wilson and paid him for his kindness to me on my arrival in Montreal. I likewise repaid the kindness of several other friends that assisted me in my distress.

*March 22.* Mr Corrigan and me went and paid the jailor our jail fees, likewise our board wages for the time that we stopped with him after our release, and also for many other little obligations that we had from him during our confinement.

*March 23.* From this date to the 11th of May nothing particular happened to us. We went frequently to see John Mowat and advised him to apply to the Governor in Quebec for a reprieve, but he would not adhere to us nor take any of our advice.

*May 12.* Mr Coltman sent for me to come and speak to him at Holms Hotel and advised to go Port Neuf and pass the summer, and said that living was much cheaper there than in Montreal, and likewise that I would be out of the way of the North West Company who would undoubtedly try to get me in trouble if they could and told me if I would superintend a schooner belonging to him (that was then ready to sail) down to

<sup>1</sup> John Coltman, probably brother of William; he died on 16 August 1812. See p. 149 *infra*.

<sup>2</sup> Probably George Auldjo, a member of the firm of Maitland, Garden and Auldjo, 'a firm of general merchants, dealing not only in dry goods, but also in ales and spirits.' Campbell, *Scotch Presbyterian Church*, p. 99. In 1814 the firm was engaged by Colin Robertson to act as Hudson's Bay Company agents in Montreal. E.10/1, fo. 28d.

Portneuf, that I should have my passage free. Agreeable to his proposals I got my things ready and went on board the schooner that same night, and the following morning set sail for Port Neuf where we arrived the 14th instant, but I found it not to be the same as Mr Coltman had told me with regard to living for I could not get board here under fifteen dollars per month and had board and lodging in Montreal for ten dollars per month, but as it was Mr Coltman's desire I could not but agree to it. There I passed my time not very comfortably till the 28th of August when I received a letter from Mr Coltman desiring me to proceed for Montreal as soon as possible to be ready for the September sessions. I would not have stopped so late at Portneuf, but Mr Corrival who had come down from Montreal to Quebec during the summer had wrote to me to stop at Portneuf till he came there, and then we would both go to Montreal together.

*August 29.* I hired a callesh<sup>1</sup> and took my departure for Montreal where I arrived the 31st instant and took up my lodging at Mr Simpson's as usual.

*September 1.* Was the day appointed for the session to commence but it being Sunday, the Court did not open till the day following.

*September 2.* The session began and I made my appearance at Court and the Solicitor General told me that A Dhemar's trial would not begin so soon, that it might be towards the latter end of the session before it would come on but that I must attend at Court daily in case. Mr Corrival was not yet arrived from Quebec and the Solicitor threatened that if he did not appear in two days that he would be obliged to pay all the sum that he had been bound over for at the police office. After the Court broke up I went to Mr Holm's Hotel to see Mr Coltman and he told that he had been repeatedly at the jail thinking to get Mowat advised to petition the Governor for a reprieve but that Mowat would not listen to him, and he said that previous to his arrival in Montreal Mr Stuart had wrote a petition to send to the Governor for John Mowat's reprieve and had been at the jail and got Mowat to sign it. But after he had signed it and given it to Mr Stuart he again asked for it to look at and scratched his signature off, and said that he had been wrongly judged and condemned and rather then he would condescend to ask a reprieve from any of them, he would prefer to suffer the punishment. Then Mr Coltman asked me to go to the prison and try if I could persuade John Mowat send the petition. I went but all to no purpose.

<sup>1</sup> A calash or calèche, 'a two-wheeled one-horse carriage, built to carry two passengers and having a seat on the splashboard for the driver. Nowadays the calèche is mainly used for sightseeing tours in Quebec City and Montreal'. *A Dictionary of Canadianisms*. . . (Toronto, 1967).

*September 3.* Mr Corrigan arrived from Quebec just time enough to save the money he had been bound over for at the police office. We met Mr Coltman at Court, and he and Mr Corrigan and me went to the prison to see Mowat and Mr Coltman offered to send down for a reprieve for Mowat to Quebec at his own expence if that Mowat would sign the petition; but all to no purpose for John Mowat would neither harken to Mr Coltman nor us but would still persist in not sending it. We attended continually at Court but nothing was done in regard to the plea between Jaques A Dhemar and us till the 6th instant.

*September 6.* To our astonishment and to the astonishment of many other people, the Grand Jury came in and said they had found no Bill against Jaques A Dhemar. Accordingly our depositions against him was read by the Clerk of the Court, and he was discharged. Nothing further of much consequence occurred to us till the last day of the term, which was the 10th instant. John Mowat was brought up to the Court and underwent the execution allotted for him,<sup>1</sup> and was discharged. Nothing further of any particular consequence happened to us till about the 13 or 14 instant (I am not sure which), that Jaques A Dhemar got a warrant sent out after Mr Corrigan for defamation of his character. Accordingly Mr Corrigan was taken prisoner, but Mr Auldjo (being concerned with the house of Messrs Coltman and Company in Quebec) went bail for Mr Corrigan for £500 and he was set at liberty.

*September 15.* From this date to the 6th of October we were almost every day waiting after Mr Stuart who had told us that we must not leave Montreal till we had given fresh depositions of all the former proceedings, but Mr Stuart having so much business on hand we were obliged to wait till the above-mentioned date before we could get our depositions taken. The same day we received word from Mr Coltman wishing us all three to come down to Quebec as soon as possible. Accordingly I went and drew £16.os.od. from Mr Auldjo on Mr Coltman, and paid all my debts in Montreal and bespoke a passage for Quebec. But Mr Stuart would not let me take my departure till I had given evidence in the case between Mr Corrigan and Jaques A Dhemar. Thus, I was detained till the 25 of October before Mr Stuart could get the attorney for A Dhemar to cross examine me. Then Mr Stuart advised me to make oath that I was just about to leave the country. I did so, and then I was examined and cross examined about the case between Mr Corrigan and Jaques A Dhemar. Then Mr Stuart told me that I was free to leave Canada when I pleased.<sup>2</sup> Then Mr Corrigan and me went to John Mowat's lodging and tried to

<sup>1</sup> That is, branding on the thumb.

<sup>2</sup> Although the London Committee had resigned itself to accepting the earlier verdict against



advise him to come down to Quebec and come to England along with us. This he would not agree to, he told us that he was his own master and would not be controlled by anybody. Accordingly as such, we were obliged to leave him for the more we entreated him the less he adhered to us.

*October 26.* Mr Corrival and me took our passage on board of a schooner and took our departure for Quebec, where we arrived the 9th of November after a long and disagreeable passage of fifteen days.

*November 10.* Mr Coltman sent his servant along with us to seek a boarding house. Could find none but what was at the rate of £6.10s. od. per month. This we would not agree to. Then Mr Corrival and me went to a Frenchman's house (where Mr Corrival had boarded and lodged when he was at Quebec in the summer) and we agreed with him to board and lodge us at the rate of four shillings each per day. The same evening Mr Corrival received a letter from Alexander Lean, Esquire, desiring him and his colleagues to come to England with the first opportunity.<sup>1</sup> Then Mr Coltman went and bespoke passage for us on board the brig *Hercules* bound for Yarmouth, but most all the sailors had run away from on board and it was the 23rd instant before the Captain could get them replaced and every other thing ready for sailing.

Mowat, it reacted indignantly to the news of Corrival's arrest in September. The Company's secretary, Alexander Lean, wrote at length to Coltman & Co. on 4 March 1812:

'In considering the Letter of Mr Stuart as well as some expressions in your own, it is manifest that the Rules of Justice as well as the Forms of the Law are made to bend to the overbearing Interest of the N W Compy, and under that Impression it is the Opinion of the Board that it would be impolitic to institute a Suit against the Servants of a Company, whose Influence, it appears, is so likely to defeat the Object of it, & to give an occasion of Triumph to their Traders, the effect of which might be most injurious to the Interests in the interior of Hudson's Bay; but with respect to the Cause in which Corrival appears as a Defendant it seems essential to adopt every possible measure that in the Judgment of Council may be thought to strengthen & confirm the Case, so that the Courts of Montreal might not have even the Shadow of a ground to substantiate a Verdict & Judgment in a Cause so flagrantly iniquitous, or, if they should that the whole transaction might appear in such strong Colours as to induce not only a reversal of their Judgment, before the Lords in Council in this Country, but also the most prompt & decisive Measures on the part of the Secretary of State to prevent the Colonial Court for administering with such glaring partiality the Laws of the Country.

The Governor & Committee are fully determined under this Impression to assist the action of *Ademar* to the last . . . The unprecedented Arrest of Corrival and the Change of the Rules of Practice to the Court for the express purpose of injuring an Individual, appears to the Board to be so flagrant an Act of Injustice that it would be most desirable to have that Fact verified by the most authentic Testimony & they would much wish that either the Statement of Mr Stuart or an Affidavit of the Fact if it could be procured should be transmitted to us by the earliest Opportunity.' A.5/5, fos. 54d.-56.

<sup>1</sup> A copy of the letter is in *ibid.*, fo. 49. The reason why the Company insisted on the passage of their servants to London was set out in a letter from Berens to Coltman & Co. on 26 August 1811: ' . . . they should then be sent home as steerage Passengers in the earliest Ship, as we aware of the dangers to which they might be liable should they fall in with any of the more violent parties of the North West Company in their passage by Land to the Territories of the Hudson's Bay Compy.' *Ibid.*, fo. 50d.

*November 24.* We went on board and at 10 o'Clock a.m. we hauled out into the stream. In trying to get the anchor we found that the cable had been cut and the anchor was gone. At 12 o'Clock at noon the Captain went on shore to get another anchor. Then the pilot out into the stream and cast anchor but the anchor would not hold; so that the ship till she was very nigh on shore on the opposite side of the river. At 11 o'Clock p.m. the Captain came on board with the anchor and got the cable bent.

*November 25.* Got underway at 9 o'Clock a.m. Went down the river till about 11 o'Clock p.m. when abreast of Madam's Island, the ship took the ground and was nigh overset, but the tide coming up we did not lay long till the ship got afloat again and went on till we came opposite to the upper end of Crane Island where we cast anchor, a foul wind and the tide against us.

*November 26.* At anchor off Crane Island, the weather excessively cold and snowing, and the wind up the river. The day following the weather was still getting colder and snowing so that the ship was become just like a body of ice. At 1 o'Clock p.m. they tried to get the anchor, but the cable was got so over with ice that they found it impossible either to get cable or anchor. About 4 o'Clock p.m. the pilot declared that it was [not?] safe to proceed any further and that he would not take charge of the vessel to pass the traverse as he said we would be sure to get set fast in the ice, and proposed to run the ship on shore at the lower end of Crane Island as being the safest place both ship and crew. The Captain and crew agreed to his proposal, and accordingly the pilot cut the cable and run the ship on shore on the lower end of Crane Island and knocked the keel and four bilge planks out of her. This being late in the evening we passed the night on board, the cold being so intense and the ship full of water and the ice driving so thick we passed a very disagreeable night.

*November 28.* The Captain, Mr Corrigan and me went on shore to see to get some place to lodge in the first house that we came to was the Sario's house; he used us very kindly and told us that we would find a house to let a little further on. Accordingly by his directions we went to this house and agreed with the landlord to give him fourteen dollars per month for the house. Thus agreed we got our things on shore and took up our lodgings the same night. Now Mr Corrigan and me consulted with each other and found that it would be necessary for one of us to try to get to Quebec as soon as possible to let Mr Coltman know of our mischance and likewise to enquire how we were to proceed in future. Accordingly on the

*December 2.* Mr Corrigan set off for Quebec and the Captain and me

went on an excursion amongst the inhabitants to buy some fresh provision. Nothing further worth notice happened to us till the 6th instant.

*December 7.* Mr Corrigan arrived from Quebec with orders from Mr Coltman for both of us to return to Quebec as soon as possible, and that Mr Corrigan was to proceed home by way of the United States and that I was to pass the winter either at Quebec or at Portneuf. The following day we were getting our things ready for the ensuing day to start for Quebec and paid for our landlord one month's house rent according to agreement.

*December 9.* We took our departure from Crane Island and went across the river and passed the night at a farmer's house who entertained us very civilly.

*December 10.* We hired a sled for our baggage and a cariole for ourselves, and so proceeded on our journey for Quebec. We had a narrow escape of being drowned the same evening in crossing a river, our horse and cariole fell in through the ice, and we had much trouble and likewise danger to get them extricated from thence. We passed the night (as we were informed) about half way to Pointe de Vie, at a tavern where we paid very dear for our lodging and every other thing that we called for.

*December 11.* We proceeded on our journey and arrived at Pointe de Vie at 8 o'Clock p.m. Here we passed the night and was very poorly entertained and at the same time paid dear for what we had.

*December 12.* We crossed the river to Quebec and took up our lodging at the same house where we had been before we left Quebec, and at the terms as formerly.

*December 13.* Mr Coltman sent for me and told me that he and Mr Corrigan had agreed upon it, that Mr Corrigan should proceed home by way of the United States and that I should pass the time in Canada till such time as the brig *Hercules* would be repaired the ensuing summer, and as my passage had been already paid to the Captain of the said brig, it would be requisite for me to wait till she would be repaired and take my passage with her, as before, because it would be attended with too much expence for Mr Corrigan and me to go home by way of the United States, and our passage being already paid on board the *Hercules*. I was very sorry that I could not get home along with Mr Corrigan but it being Mr Coltman's desire that I should stop, I could say against. Nothing further of any consequence occurred till the 16th instant.

*December 16.* Mr Corrigan set off for Montreal on his way for New York<sup>1</sup> and I remained in Quebec till the 25th Instant, but finding it too

<sup>1</sup> Corrigan arrived in England in February 1812. At a Committee meeting of 26 February 'Mr William Corrigan from Albany Factory last from Montreal was then introduced to the Board & interrogated respecting the Trial of John Mowat & the Treatment he Corrigan met with respecting his Imprisonment &c &c Mr Corrigan was then desired to draw up a Narrative of the whole



expensive to pass all the winter in Quebec I proposed going to Portneuf and went and told Mr Coltman my intention, which he approved of, and gave me some money to pay all my little debts in Quebec, and I got my things ready and start for Portneuf that same evening along with Mr Coltman's farmer. We stopped for the night about half way to Portneuf at a farmer's house who entertained us very politely.

*December 26.* We proceeded on our journey and arrived at Portneuf at 4 o'Clock p.m. Here I agreed with the same people that I had boarded with when I was at Portneuf the preceding summer, for to board me now also, at the rate of two shillings per day. I did not go to the expense of a bed as I had two blankets and a pillow of my own I made the best shift that I could with it during my stay at Portneuf. Thus arranged I passed the time pretty comfortably till the 3rd of February.

*February 3, 1812.* I was taken with the fever, which confined me to bed till the 16th day of March, then I began and got a little better but was not able to walk out till the 2nd of April. Nothing further of any material consequence happened to me till the 27th day of May.

*May 27.* Captain Quinton arrived at Portneuf from Crane Island, with the brig *Hercules*, to get repaired. From the above date to the 12th of June the brig was disloading.

*June 13.* The brig was put on the blocks but the carpenters there was such a degenerate set and always drunk, so that it was the 20th of July before that the brig was got off the blocks.

*July 21.* The brig began to take in cargo at the wharf where she stopped till she got half load, and then hauled out in the stream to take in the remainder of her cargo.

Nothing further worth remark occurred till the 15th of August that Mr John Coltman went on board the ship *Triton* to encourage Canadians to work, to get the ship ready for to sail with the convoy, got bruised by an accident which occasioned his death the following day.

*August 16.* I went down to Quebec with Captain Quinton to sign his protest of the 27th November ultimo. We stopped for the night at des écurie, was very well entertained and the Captain paid all expenses.

*August 17.* We proceeded on our journey to Quebec where we arrived at 10 o'Clock a.m. Could get no business done that day. The following day Captain Quinton got his protests made out and signed then we start again for Portneuf at 8 o'Clock p.m. Then I went and got all my accounts settled and my things all ready for to go on board the ensuing day.

Transaction & lay it before the Board.' A.1/50, fo. 54. Corrigan submitted his 'Narrative' to the Committee on 4 March; it is no longer in the Archives, though it is possible that it was used by Selkirk in his account of the legal proceedings at Montreal which he included in his *Sketch of the British Fur Trade of 1816*.

*August 19.* I went on board and at 11 o'Clock a.m. we set sail for Quebec, where we arrived the following day at 12 o'Clock at noon. Then the [illegible] and me went on shore to buy some necessaries that we wanted for the passage. Stopped on shore all night.

*August 20.* The convoy set sail at 1 o'Clock p.m. Captain Quinton was employed all day getting his accounts settled and agreeing some sailors that he wanted to make out his complement for the voyage.

*August 21.* At 2 o'Clock p.m. we set sail for Yarmouth, and joined the convoy the following day at the Brandy Pots.

THE  
'CHARACTER BOOK'  
OF  
GOVERNOR GEORGE SIMPSON  
1832



The 'Character Book' of Governor George Simpson (A.34/2) is bound in stiff blue and brown marbled paper covers, measuring  $8 \times 6\frac{3}{4}$  inches, with dark blue leather spine and corners; the inside covers and fly-leaf are of blue and brown marbled paper. A small label in the top left-hand corner of the inside front cover reads: 'Chas. Skipper Printer and Patent Ledger Manufacturer St Dunstan's Hill'. Of the 166 pages (83 folios) of lined paper, measuring  $7\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$  inches, 112 pages (folios 1-57d.) contain entries in Simpson's handwriting. Folios 19d., 51d., and 58-83 are blank. Some pages bear the watermark 'R ALLFORD 1829'. Each page has a narrow left-hand margin ruled in red ink. Occasionally, interpolations have been added by Simpson in red ink in the margin; in the text printed below these remarks are added in square brackets at the end of the appropriate entries. Because the document is known to be in Simpson's hand, and to add to the usefulness of this edition for scholars who may wish to quote directly from it, the spelling etc. of the Character Book has not been modernized. As far as possible the document is printed here as Simpson wrote it.

## INTRODUCTION

Aged about thirty-four, George Simpson joined the Hudson's Bay Company in 1820 in the last, climacteric year of its struggle with the North West Company. At the coalition of 1821 Simpson, still a novice in terms of fur-trade experience, was appointed Governor of the Northern Department of the enlarged and remodelled Hudson's Bay Company, and soon displayed those qualities of administrative ability, resourcefulness and toughness which were to stamp themselves on the operations of the Company during the next forty years. Although working under the general direction of the London Committee, Simpson brought to the problems of the post-coalition era a highly personalized approach. Never at ease with a problem until he had seen its nature for himself, he travelled incessantly and tirelessly across the Company's vast territories, investigating, recommending, organizing; and in 1826 his authority was extended over the Southern and Montreal Departments. Simpson had become in effect the Company's overseas Governor, although he had to wait until 1839 before the appropriate title of 'Governor-in-Chief of Rupert's Land' was formally bestowed upon him.

One of Simpson's most pressing tasks was to bring together in a harmonious working relationship the officers inherited from the old companies. The Deed Poll of 1821 had accepted and formalized two distinctive features of North West Company practice — the taking into financial partnership of the more senior traders, and the regular participation of those officers in the management of the trade. By the terms of the Deed Poll forty per cent of the Company's profits, divided into eight-five shares, were set aside for the traders in the field, who were selected from among the old 'field officers' of the Hudson's Bay Company and the former 'wintering partners' of the North West Company. Two ranks were designated: Chief Factors, of whom twenty-five were named, each holding two shares, and Chief Traders, of whom twenty-eight were named, each holding a single share. (The remaining eight shares were added to a retirement fund.) In the two regional departments, Northern and Southern, between which the trade was divided, the Chief Factors were to meet once a year in council under the Governor's chairmanship to determine policy and promotions. Only Chief Traders were eligible for promotion to Chief Factor, and any vacancies among the Chief Traders would be filled from the ranks of the salaried 'clerks'.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For details see H[udson's] B[ay] R[ecord] S[ociety], Vol. II, E. E. Rich and R. Harvey Fleming, editors, *Colin Robertson's Correspondence Book, September 1817 to September 1822* (Toronto, Champlain Society, 1939, and London, Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1939), pp. 327-44.

Like all constitutions, the careful arrangements of the 1821 compromise were subject to the pressure of events and the influence of personalities; and as Simpson strengthened his authority and prestige, so the councils played a noticeably diminishing role. At first, Simpson took considerable pains in the management of his Northern Department Council (the larger and more important of the two), moving between conciliation and firmness as the occasion demanded, but never letting control slip from his hands. As he advised J. G. McTavish in 1832: 'Let us entreat that you keep temper and do not allow yourself be drawn into altercation wt any of those who may be there; you can gain neither honor nor glory by quarrelling wt them but can twist them round your finger by setting about it properly'.<sup>1</sup> Councils were not yet the truncated formality they were to become in later years, when Simpson normally wintered in England and arrived at what John McLean castigated as 'sham' councils each summer to present decisions already made in London, sometimes (if McLean is to be believed) even arranging for the minutes to be written in advance.<sup>2</sup> If this stage was still in the future, yet Simpson in the 1820s mastered his councils of senior officers in a way beyond the reach of a lesser man: as he replied to a query about the councils from the Parliamentary Committee of 1857, 'They could outvote me, but it has never been so'.<sup>3</sup> In achieving this dominance over men redoubtable enough in their own way, usually older and with many more years in the service than he had, Simpson made effective use of one of the sharpest weapons in his armoury — a shrewd ability to discern the strengths, and more particularly the weaknesses, of individuals. A readiness, almost an eagerness, to pass judgment on his fellows is evident in Simpson from the beginning. The journal and letters he wrote during his first strenuous year of service in Athabasca during 1820–21 are studded with critical remarks of pontifical sternness: on the 'folly, obstinacy, and self importance' of John Clarke; on the management of Colin Robertson, 'a disgraceful mass of confusion'; on half-breeds, 'thoughtless, dissipated, and depraved'; on 'Military Gentlemen . . . very unfit subjects for this country'.<sup>4</sup> Here we can glimpse the characteristics of Simpson's attitude towards his colleagues and subordinates which found its final and most

<sup>1</sup> Hudson's Bay Company Archives B.135/c/2, fo. 83d. Subsequent classification numbers refer to Hudson's Bay Company Archives.

<sup>2</sup> W. S. Wallace, editor, *John McLean's Notes of a Twenty-Five Year's Service in the Hudson's Bay Territory* (Toronto, Champlain Society, 1932), p. 334. See also Harold A. Innis, *The Fur Trade in Canada* (revised edition, University of Toronto Press, 1962), p. 321.

<sup>3</sup> *Report from the Select Committee on the Hudson's Bay Company . . .* (London, 1857), p. 45.

<sup>4</sup> *H.B.R.S.*, Vol. I, E. E. Rich, editor, *Journal of Occurrences in the Athabasca Department by George Simpson, 1820 and 1821, and Report* (Toronto, Champlain Society, 1938, and London, Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1938), pp. 325, 365, 378.



comprehensive expression in the Character Book of 1832; but that remarkable document has other precursors.

One of Simpson's first actions on becoming Governor of the Northern Department was to instigate a system of formal report on the clerks under him. The Archives contain a list of 'HBC Clerks Northern Department 1821/22',<sup>1</sup> written in a clerk's hand, and showing the nationality, capacity, length of service, salary and department of the men named. Appended to these details are brief remarks on the men in Simpson's own hand, with his signature at the end of the list. A similar list contains 'NW Clerks Northern Department 1821/22',<sup>2</sup> arranged in the same way, and again including Simpson's notes and signature. These lists of Northern Department clerks formed the basis for a more general compilation prepared by William Smith, Secretary of the Hudson's Bay Company in London from 1818 to 1843. This is a Servants' Character Book, 1822-30,<sup>3</sup> which begins with Simpson's remarks of 1822, copied almost word-for-word from the two lists described above. Additional remarks on the men's characters, where applicable, were added against each name for 1823, 1824, 1825, 1826, 1827 and 1830. The source of these remarks was probably Simpson in all cases; certainly for 1825, 1826 and 1827 we still have Simpson's original notes<sup>4</sup> which show that they were (as in 1822) simply copied into Smith's book in London. The remarks of 1830 are in many cases both fuller and more acerbic than the earlier, laconic entries; some of them in fact appear in much the same form under the clerks' names in the Character Book of 1832,<sup>5</sup> and so give a foretaste of Simpson's uninhibited comments in that volume. Smith's book goes on to list the names of clerks in the Southern Department and Montreal Department. Until 1826 the rather scattered remarks on the men's characters seem to have been extracted from the District Officers' reports, but the notes on the men for 1827, by which time Simpson's authority extended to the Southern Department, appear to have been copied from Simpson's own 'List of Clerks Southern Department 1827'.<sup>6</sup> As in the Northern Department list a change of tone is evident in 1830, with once more a marked similarity between some of the entries for that year, and those of the 1832 Character Book.

The 1830 entries are the last, and the reason why Simpson stopped keeping these lists just at the time when his comments were becoming fuller and franker is found in his correspondence almost thirty years later. In February 1859 the Secretary of the Hudson's Bay Company, Thomas

<sup>1</sup> B.239/f/12, fos. 1-9.

<sup>2</sup> B.239/f/13, fos. 1-8.

<sup>3</sup> A.34/1.

<sup>4</sup> In D.4/88, fos. 127d.-144; D.4/89, fos. 85-9; D.4/90, fos. 69-75.

<sup>5</sup> For example the entries on F. N. Annance: for 1830, A.34/1, fo. 12d.; for 1832, p. 200 *infra*.

<sup>6</sup> D.4/91, fos. 35-40.

Fraser, wrote to Simpson that 'the Governor and Committee have had under their consideration the annual reports upon the characters and conduct of all Officers under the rank of Chief Trader, sent by you for their information up to 1831. The Governor and Committee are of opinion that it is desirable that those reports, which of late years have been discontinued should be resumed without delay'.<sup>1</sup> Simpson's explanation from Lachine the next month was explicit and revealing: 'In reply to your remarks on the discontinuance of such reports, I have to state that I originated the system myself, and followed it up for several years; but was induced to abandon it, in consequence of the information, which was intended to be strictly confidential, finding its way back to the interior, leading, as may be readily imagined, to personal difficulties and other inconvenient results'.<sup>2</sup>

But Simpson, while abandoning official reports on the Company's clerks, in strictest privacy extended his notes to cover Chief Factors and Chief Traders, and the result is the volume now known as the Character Book, which was written during the winter of 1831-32 at Red River. It is known that Simpson kept his private papers under lock and key, with not even his confidential secretary (Thomas Simpson at this time) allowed access;<sup>3</sup> and to strengthen the secrecy of the Character Book the commissioned officers were indicated by number only, and the key to those numbers was kept on a separate sheet of paper. How and when the two documents arrived at the Company's London headquarters is not clear. The Character Book presumably remained in Simpson's possession during his lifetime. It may have been sent to the Company with other papers after his death at Lachine in 1860, but it is not listed in the late nineteenth-century 'Catalogue of Library &c.'. <sup>4</sup> It makes its first appearance in the 1923 catalogue under the title 'Servants Characters & Histories of Service', <sup>5</sup> and the single sheet identifying the commissioned officers was found and placed with the Character Book in the late 'twenties.<sup>6</sup> Since then the volume has been consulted and quoted by numerous scholars — not always with a due regard to the circumstances under which it was compiled. No critical edition of this invaluable document would be complete without as full a consideration as the evidence will allow of George Simpson during the twenty months or so which passed between his return from England in the summer of 1830 and the death of his young son in the spring of 1832; for it was during this troubled period of his life that the Character Book took shape, and it was in the last few months of it that the volume was actually written.

<sup>1</sup> A.6/34, p. 39.

<sup>2</sup> A.12/10, fo. 64.

<sup>3</sup> See B.135/c/2, fo. 78.

<sup>4</sup> A.64/52.

<sup>5</sup> A.64/56, fo. 47.

<sup>6</sup> Information from Miss A. M. Johnson.

Simpson's stay in England during 1829-30 saw his marriage to his young cousin, Frances Simpson, but it also brought home to him the depressing fact that a decade of hard work and travel in the Company's service had taken its toll of his health. We probably ought not to take his reference to himself as 'an invalid'<sup>1</sup> too seriously; even so, his marriage, his age and some decline in his physical powers pointed to a different pattern of life in the future — shown in the decision to make his home with Frances at the Company's settlement at Red River. The Simpsons' journey from Lachine to York Factory and on to Red River in the summer of 1830 took on the character of a triumphal procession as the couple visited the fur-trade posts of the interior;<sup>2</sup> but beneath the pleasantries tensions were already apparent. In bringing an English wife to Rupert's Land, and with his old friend John George McTavish at the same time introducing his Scottish bride to Moose, Simpson plunged into personal and emotional problems which he seems not to have anticipated. Both he and McTavish had 'country wives' and children awaiting their return, and although they were quickly bundled out of sight a more general embarrassment remained. The appearance of their Governor and another senior officer with European wives confronted the many Company servants who had mixed-blood wives with new and awkward social problems, the repercussions of which were bound to be felt by Simpson in both a personal and official capacity.<sup>3</sup>

Trouble began almost at once. The senior Company officer at Red River, the popular governor Donald McKenzie, was the uncle of McTavish's discarded country wife (Nancy McKenzie, or Matooskie), and to Simpson's irritation he took his avuncular duties seriously. Nancy and Simpson's former country wife, Margaret Taylor, were sent with their children to Chief Factor John Stuart at Bas de la Rivière until suitable arrangements could be made for them. Meanwhile McKenzie and Stuart joined in an alliance which though directed ostensibly at McTavish over his abandonment of Nancy, was by implication almost as critical of Simpson. Before the spring of 1831 both women were married off, but by then the scandal had set the country by its ears, and relations between Simpson and McTavish on one side, and McKenzie and Stuart on the other, were permanently soured. Nor was the friction generated by the

<sup>1</sup> *H.B.R.S.*, Vol. XXII, E. E. Rich, *The History of the Hudson's Bay Company 1670-1870*, Vol. II (London, Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1959), p. 463.

<sup>2</sup> For the routes as far as York Factory see Grace Lee Nute, 'Journey for Frances', in *The Beaver* (Winnipeg, Hudson's Bay Company), December 1953, pp. 50-54; March 1954, pp. 12-18; Summer 1954, pp. 12-18.

<sup>3</sup> On all this see Sylvia Van Kirk, 'Women and the Fur Trade', in *The Beaver*, Winter 1972, pp. 4-21.



affair confined to this warring quartet. At Moose McTavish alienated some of his most experienced officers by refusing to let his wife Catherine mix with their country wives; and at Red River Simpson adopted the same hard attitude. Colin Robertson, among others, was sharply rebuffed when he tried to introduce his mixed-blood wife to the company of Frances Simpson. Simpson had always tended to talk of his women in crude terms, as chattels almost, and if his remarks in private letters on country wives (his own of former times and those of his officers) — 'the commodity', 'his bit of brown', 'his bit of circulating copper' — were repeated outside then many of Simpson's officers had cause to feel humiliated and angry.

At Red River Simpson's position was an unenviable one. In poor physical condition himself, he continued the demanding business of supervising the Company's trading operations across a continent, and at the same time had to cope with a wife of fragile health who found difficulty in adjusting to life at Red River. Compared with a fur trade post in the wilderness the Settlement was an oasis of civilization, but the reaction of Frances Simpson, fresh from a sheltered existence in England, was probably near that expressed by Alexander Ross when he described Red River in 1830 as 'an isolated spot in the wilds of North America, distant 700 miles from the nearest sea-port, and that port blockaded by solid ice for ten months in the year'.<sup>1</sup> It is evidence of Simpson's determination to move himself and his wife outside the circle of Red River society that within a few weeks of arrival he had selected a spot twenty miles distant from the upper settlement for the building of a stone mansion, Lower Fort Garry, the intended home for himself and Frances. But until the residence was ready for occupation at the end of 1832 the Simpsons lived at the upper settlement, in a house renovated in the summer of 1830 though not particularly spacious to judge by Simpson's less than enthusiastic description to McTavish — 'We are tolerably well quartered, have 4 rooms and a kitchen . . . passably habitable'.<sup>2</sup> Of life here during 1831 and 1832 we catch glimpses from outsiders, but the most revealing descriptions are contained in Simpson's own letters to McTavish. Taken together, these sources reveal a man under physical and emotional strain, difficult to live and work with, worried and irascible.

For a few months the decision to live at Red River seemed to be justified. Just before Christmas 1830 Simpson wrote to Donald Ross, his former private secretary, at Norway House that 'Mrs Simpson enjoys a Red River Winter and I myself am much better thank God than at any

<sup>1</sup> Alexander Ross, *The Red River Settlement* . . . (London, 1856), p. v.

<sup>2</sup> B.135/c/2, fo. 54-54d.

time for the last 12 Months',<sup>1</sup> but early in 1831 Simpson wrote the first in a series of despondent letters to McTavish: 'You'll be sorry to learn that my poor wife is by no means in good health. Tod<sup>2</sup> is attending upon her and does not know what to make of her case. You may easily believe I am in any thing but good spirits in fact I cannot sleep and the consequence is that my old complaint in the head is troublesome again'.<sup>3</sup> It was soon discovered that Frances was pregnant, and now began a period of acute anxiety, again described in Simpson's letters to McTavish. On 10 April he wrote that Frances was 'still seriously indisposed', on 20 May that she 'still continues a great invalid, the greater part of her time in Bed and her symptoms by no means favorable', and on 8 June, 'My poor wife you'll be sorry to learn is very ill indeed, almost entirely confined to her Room and altho not in an immediately dangerous state much worse than Women generally are while in such situations'.<sup>4</sup> Todd was attending not only Frances, but also the Governor, as a letter he wrote to Simpson many years later (in 1849) indicates:

I have only to remind you, of your state of health when you came out in 1830, labouring under constant apprehension of Apoplexy, which had preyed on your mind to such a degree as to make you at times quite miserable, how often on these occasions when fearing an attack have you sent for me to bleed you, your arm bared up and ready for the operation a more subservient man would doubtless have met your wishes, even against his own Judgment, and probably brought you to the brink if not the grave itself, I declined bleeding being of opinion depletion had been carried too far already. I knew the struggle would be severe and the success doubtful, but depended greatly on your naturally good constitution . . .<sup>5</sup>

As the crisis of Frances' pregnancy approached, so did the hectic summer months of fur trade business, and in June Simpson was forced to leave his wife at Red River while he travelled to York Factory to supervise the affairs of the Northern Department. At York the Governor got through the business in record time. He reported to McTavish on his return to Red River in August: 'I fagged Night & Day and became so unwell in consequence that not only Hamlyn<sup>6</sup> but myself and the

<sup>1</sup> Simpson to Ross, 19 December 1830. Provincial Archives of British Columbia, Ross Correspondence, B.C.M.437.

<sup>2</sup> William Todd, Chief Trader and surgeon at Red River.

<sup>3</sup> B.135/c/2, fo. 57.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, fos. 62, 66d., 68.

<sup>5</sup> D.5/25, fo. 390d.

<sup>6</sup> Dr Richard J. Hamlyn. For a biography see *H.B.R.S.*, X, E. E. Rich, editor, *Part of a Dispatch from George Simpson Esqr Governor of Ruperts Land to the Governor & Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company London March 1, 1829. Continued and Completed March 24 and June 5, 1829* (Toronto, Champlain Society, 1947, and London, Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1947), pp. 250-2.

Gentlemen who were there became alarmed about me'.<sup>1</sup> Independent confirmation of this came from James Hargrave, the accountant at York, who had written in July that 'The Govrs. health this season is far from being secure, indeed since his last visit home he has scarcely ever been perfectly in good health'.<sup>2</sup>

In September 1831 Frances gave birth to a son, and as she convalesced during the long Red River winter Simpson helped Todd to look after her and the baby. The winter closed in early. On 20 December Simpson wrote to Donald Ross, 'unusually severe has it hitherto been from 10 to 28 below zero during what has yet passed of this month with little or no Snow but the season exceedingly unhealthy colds caught and affections of the Lungs and Bowels'.<sup>3</sup> To Hargrave the previous day Simpson had complained that the changeable weather 'has made a hospital of almost every House in the Settlement'.<sup>4</sup> Not only the weather, illness and domestic tribulations kept the Simpsons to themselves. After only six months at the settlement Simpson had told McTavish, 'I am most heartily tired of Red River',<sup>5</sup> and his letters show that while he refused to accept mixed-bloods as suitable company for Frances, the European women had little in common either in age or taste with his wife. Donald McKenzie's wife was 'a silly ignorant thing, whose commonplace wise saws with which we are constantly persecuted, are worse than a blister', while Mrs Cockran, wife of the Anglican priest at the settlement, 'shines only when talking of elbow Grease & the scouring of pots and pans'.<sup>6</sup> By January 1832, despite excitement at the settlement over the coming christening of Simpson's son, the Governor himself was writing in more violent terms than ever to McTavish: 'I could fill volumes with the details of the most Vindictive & Malicious intrigue that ever entered the mind of man which I have witnessed since I came here. In short I am sick and tired of Red River and would be off tomorrow if I currently could — indeed I am becoming quite disgusted wt the country and only remain in it because I am not yet prepared to be off'.<sup>7</sup> Later, Simpson revealed to McTavish why he could not be 'off'; he was in no position to retire from the Company's service, having lost £4,000 (presumably in investments) in a twelve-month period during 1831 and 1832.<sup>8</sup>

Inside the Simpson household the Governor seems to have been as isolated as he was in the settlement at large. There is no evidence of

<sup>1</sup> B.135/c/2, fo. 73.

<sup>2</sup> Hargrave to Allan McDonnell, 19 July 1831. P[ublic] A[rchives of] C[anada], Hargrave Papers, microfilm reel C-80, Series 1, Book 7.

<sup>3</sup> Simpson to Ross, 20 December 1831. Provincial Archives of British Columbia, Ross Correspondence, B.C.M.437.

<sup>4</sup> PAC, Hargrave Papers, microfilm reel C-73, Series 1, Book 7.

<sup>5</sup> B.135/c/2, fo. 64d.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, fo. 81d.



warmth in his relationship with Todd, with his 'tinge of Radicalism' and fondness for 'a Glass of Grog'.<sup>1</sup> Nor was Thomas Simpson, who acted as Simpson's private secretary during the 'busy season', and whose background, education and relationship to the Governor might have made him a more congenial companion than the retired traders and farmers at the settlement, on close terms with Simpson, 'a severe and most repulsive master' he complained to his brother Alexander in July 1833.<sup>2</sup> He also wrote of a deterioration in Simpson which evidently dated from 1831 or 1832:

His firmness and decision of mind are much impaired: both in great and small matters, he has become wavering, capricious, and changeable; in household affairs, (for he is his own butler and housekeeper) the very cook says openly, that he is like a weathercock. He has grown painfully nervous and crabbed, and is guilty of many little meannesses at Table that are quite beneath a gentleman, and, I might add, are indicative of his birth.<sup>3</sup>

As for members of the domestic staff, Simpson's behaviour towards them savoured of life on the trail rather than of the conventions of a normal middle-class household. He wrote twice to the long-suffering McTavish on the subject, in August 1831 and again in January 1832:

Pray how do you find your English Servants answer. I have had a good deal of trouble wt mine. Our Cook is first rate at her trade, but the Musquitoes heat & cold have soured her desperately; she is constantly drawing odious comparisons between her present situation & that which she held for 10 years at Grove House<sup>4</sup> and for 4 Years wt my Lady Lansdowne but I gave her such a Damning & Bitching last Winter that the very look of me now throws her into a fever. She is however amazingly attached to my better half. Her husband Angus is likewise a finished Servant but washed his Throat occasionally until I gave him such a pounding as made his Bones ache for a month which has cured him.

... we have got the most infernal vixen of a Cook this World ever produced; she is as mild as a Lamb to the good wife but I am afraid to venture near the Kitchen: I tried a Dish of Billingsgate<sup>5</sup> with her

<sup>1</sup> P. 200.

<sup>2</sup> This and the next quotation come from Alexander Simpson, *The Life and Travels of Thomas Simpson The Arctic Discoverer* (London, 1845) p. 80.

<sup>3</sup> Presumably a reference to the fact that Simpson was born out of wedlock and seems to have been brought up by relatives, including his aunt Mary Simpson.

<sup>4</sup> The family residence of Frances Simpson's family.

<sup>5</sup> Violent and abusive language, of the kind used by the fishwomen at Billingsgate market, London.

once, but she beat me hollow, and makes the whole Fort ring . . . Her Husband is a good servant when sober but I am obliged to keep him in fear & trembling.<sup>1</sup>

It was during the winter of 1831–32 that the Character Book was written, at least in the form which survives today. The first page is dated '1832', so we must assume that Simpson began the fair copy which is now classified as A.34/2 sometime in the New Year. He would certainly have finished it before the death of his infant son on 22 April 1832, a tragic event which plunged Simpson and his wife into black despair and took them both to the edge of a physical and nervous breakdown. But it played no part in the making of the Character Book. Simpson in the months after his son's death was incapable of the sharp, ordered observation of the Book's entries; as he wrote to McTavish in May, 'I am quite bewitched my mind is a perfect chaos'.<sup>2</sup> In any event, with spring at last coming to Red River and throughout the fur trade country, activity and business were beginning again<sup>3</sup> — it was during the long winter weeks after Christmas that Simpson, with little business to occupy him, uneasy and tense in his own household, had time for the writing of the Character Book. Certainly this would have been true of the previous winter, for in June 1831 Simpson had written to McTavish in acknowledgment of a lengthy letter — 'I wish you have been equally bountiful in the Winter when we had a superabundance of spare time on hand as I shall not be able to do much under the head of private correspondence until the cold weather sets in again'.<sup>4</sup>

The compulsions which drove Simpson to cover page after page with his thoughts about his colleagues are a matter for the psychologist rather than for the historian; what is certain is that Simpson's frame of mind as he laboured at his task was far from normal. Embittered by quarrels and criticism at the settlement, worried by financial problems, in poor health himself, and facing the second winter of anxiety for his wife and (now) his son, the Governor was in no mood for charitable comment. But there is a more fundamental point to consider when viewing the Character Book; it was private in every sense. As far as we know, no one except Simpson saw it during his lifetime. The entries were never intended to

<sup>1</sup> B.135/c/2, fos. 74, 80d.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, fo. 84. Simpson's additions in red ink to the Character Book show that the volume could not have been written later in the year, for some of them (e.g. those on the deaths of Aemilius Simpson and William McGillivray) contain news which Simpson received when he arrived at York in early July 1832, and which caused him to revise parts of the Character Book.

<sup>3</sup> Though later than normal; the ice was so long in breaking up that for the first time in Simpson's experience he was unable to attend the council of the Southern Department at Fort William on 1 June. See D.4/99, fo. 24.

<sup>4</sup> B.135/c/2, fo. 69d.

be rounded, judicious assessments of the Company officers and their achievements. These existed elsewhere, often penned by Simpson himself, in official reports and letters. The Character Book rather represents Simpson's inner misgivings, half-formed suspicions and downright prejudices about the men he knew. The mastery of factual detail revealed in the one hundred and sixty entries is remarkable by any standard, but the erratic nature of some of Simpson's judgments, and the narrowness of spirit shown, for example, in his contemptuous dismissal of mixed-bloods as a group or in his obsessive concern about the 'grog-drinkers' who weaved their unsteady paths around him, make the Character Book a source to be used with care. Often it provides a clue to Simpson's attitude towards a man rather than to the nature of the man himself — a distinction which the user of the Character Book forgets at his peril. Historians of the fur trade are fortunate that against all odds this little volume with its wealth of otherwise inaccessible insights has survived, but they should as a matter of routine check its entries against the evidence available in other private correspondence and in the Company's official documents — for these above all contain the detailed, year-by-year records of a man's deeds and misdeeds.

In more general terms the Character Book highlights some of the intractable problems which still faced Simpson a decade or more after the coalition. The senior management of the Company in North America, listed here in Tables I and II,<sup>1</sup> was a legacy of that amalgamation. All twenty-five of the Chief Factors of 1832 were in the service in 1821, seventeen appointed to that rank at the coalition. They were not Simpson's men, at least not in origin, and most owed their status to prowess displayed in the rough days of conflict in the fur trade before Simpson arrived on the scene. Of the twenty-five, eighteen had been Northwesters, a not insignificant fact since the old rivalries, though softened by time, still lingered.<sup>2</sup> Among the Chief Traders the balance was more even; there were fourteen former Northwesters as against ten Hudson's Bay men (together with one new entrant to the trade since 1821). Many of the qualities valuable in the days of furious competition had become redundant, even embarrassing, in the more sophisticated trading world of the 1830s. Reading Simpson's entries, one is reminded of the traditional division — no doubt overstated — between the dashing, enterprising Northwesters and the steadier Hudson's Bay 'men of business'. One of Simpson's problems was that the most useful qualities of the old rivals were rarely

<sup>1</sup> Pp. 167, 168.

<sup>2</sup> One perhaps ought not to make too much of this, but certainly emotional and sentimental attachments to the old companies remained for many years. See, for example G. P. de T. Glazebrook, editor, *The Hargrave Correspondence 1821-1843* (Toronto, The Champlain Society, 1938), *passim*.



combined in a single trader. There were few George Simpsons or James Douglasses in the fur trade. And Douglas, though his promise was already evident, was still a clerk — a reminder of one of the most frustrating of Simpson's problems. Under the promotion system laid down by the Deed Poll the number of Chief Factors and Chief Traders was effectively stabilized at about twenty-five in each class. Simpson and the councils could propose new commissioned officers, but with a share in the concern worth about £400 annually in the 1830s 'dead men's shoes' offered the only real prospect of promotion. Unfortunately for the more talented and ambitious clerks, the Chief Factors were as a group long-lived, and understandably eager to cling to their lucrative positions as long as possible. So, we find Simpson writing in despair of sixty-year-old Roderick McKenzie — 'His Health and constitution broken down and worn out so that his useful Days are over, and it is full time that he should retire . . .'.<sup>1</sup> But the Deed Poll made virtually no provision for compulsory retirement, and McKenzie soldiered on for another twenty years until he was eighty. Tied to this system, the Company faced its increasingly complex commitments with an ageing group of senior officers, and a blockage formed across the path of promotion which by the 1830s had become a serious problem. It is no coincidence that some of the bitterest attacks on Simpson from within the Company — from George Barnston, John McLean, John Tod — had their origins in resentment at the denial of promotion. Simpson, in trying to hold out hope to able men, and to retain for the Company their services, inevitably could not satisfy all legitimate aspirations. This general situation was something of which Simpson was well aware. In 1831 he wrote to McTavish: 'The greatest evil in our present constitution is the great number of [Chief] Factors we have, many of the Gentlemen who hold that situation would be useful men if Traders but at the top of the ladder they are Drones & Drags upon the concern. Ten Factors in my opinion are quite sufficient for the whole business'.<sup>2</sup> Again, the next year the Governor wrote privately to Angus Cameron: 'We have no promotions this year nor is there any immediate prospect of a vacancy in the Chief Factorship which I regret as some of our great men are now becoming worse than useless and several men of considerable merit are kept in the background and becoming very dissatisfied'.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> P. 186.

<sup>2</sup> B.135/c/2, fo. 74d. After Simpson's return to Canada in 1834 he moved steadily in the direction of reducing the number of Chief Factors and increasing the number of Chief Traders. See Innis, *Fur Trade in Canada*, pp. 320–2.

<sup>3</sup> Cameron Papers: H.B.C. Archives typescript copy from originals in possession of Mrs Elaine Mitchell, Simpson to Cameron, 23 June 1832. The new Deed Poll of 1834 put into effect several of the reforms Simpson had indicated in his correspondence and in the Character Book. As the London

Finally, what are we to make of the individual assessments of the Company servants? One myth about the Character Book which even a cursory reading should banish is that its entries are uniformly hypercritical. Simpson's entries on the Chief Factors range across a scale extending from the effusively favourable at one extreme to the violently antipathetic at the other. Some of Simpson's most hostile entries can be traced back in origin for many years, notably those on John Clarke and Colin Robertson; though in the long, vitriolic description of the latter there is also an element of self-deception as Simpson ignores Robertson's importance in the struggle against the North West Company at the moment when he himself arrived in North America. The highly critical entries on Donald McKenzie and John Stuart were, we know, influenced by the domestic feuds of 1830 and 1831, and run counter to Simpson's tributes of the 1820s. In all four entries there seems to be more than a trace of personal animosity, malevolence almost. In contrast, the disparaging entries on Angus Bethune, John McBean and William McIntosh reflect the conviction not only of Simpson but of other senior officers that these men brought little of value to the service. The celebrated passage on John McLoughlin is a good example of the type of entry which notably underplays its subject's achievements, but which supplements rather than contradicts the public impression. It adds a dimension, and when considered with other evidence does not noticeably distort. James Keith and Joseph Beioley have perspicacious entries which are well supported by other sources. Some Chief Factors — John George McTavish, James McMillan, Allan McDonnell, John Lee Lewes, are given affectionate but by no means uncritical entries. For a few, Edward Smith, Alexander Christie, John Rowand and Duncan Finlayson, Simpson has unalloyed praise. In brief, although Simpson was passing judgment he was doing so not in the cool impersonal manner of a distant boardroom superior. The Chief Factors were all men he knew, and old prejudices, recent quarrels, continuing affections, all played their part in Simpson's assessments.

As far as the Chief Traders were concerned, the constant theme of Simpson's entries is their suitability or otherwise for promotion. Here

Committee acknowledged in a letter to him in March 1834: 'By the present Constitution . . . the Company have no power to dispense with the Services of any Commissioned Officer, however old, infirm, imbecile or troublesome he may be . . .' A.6/23, fo. 76. Under the terms of the new Deed Poll the Company (to quote from the marginal summary of Clause XXIX in the printed version) 'may after a certain period place upon the retired list, any Chief Factors or Chief Traders who have served a certain period on making them certain allowances'. Furthermore, the Company reserved the right of reducing the number of Chief Factors from 25 to 16, and of increasing the number of Chief Traders in proportion; and also declared itself empowered to elect Chief Factors and Chief Traders to fill vacancies, instead of being dependent on the nominations put forward by the District Councils. *Ibid.*, fo. 76d.

Simpson's forecasts of 1832 are curiously erratic when we consider that he, after all, was the dominating influence in the selection procedure. For example, although two of Simpson's hottest tips for promotion, Angus Cameron and Donald Ross, became Chief Factors, both had to wait until 1839, behind men such as Samuel Black, A. R. McLeod and J. P. Pruden, castigated by Simpson in the Character Book as being unfit for senior positions. Again, some on Simpson's list of probables for promotion — Cuthbert Cumming, Colin Campbell and Robert Cowie — never attained the rank of Chief Factor. This slightly surprising pattern, or perhaps lack of pattern, strengthens suspicions that Simpson's judgment in 1832 was not at its sharpest.

The same lack of consistency is shown, in fainter form, in the entries on the clerks. True, a fair number of those considered by Simpson as fit for promotion soon became commissioned officers — James Douglas, Nicol Finlayson, Richard Hardisty, James Hargrave, John McLeod, Murdoch McPherson. But others, such as John Ballenden, Thomas and Alexander Simpson, had to wait some years, and were anticipated by clerks who Simpson clearly did not consider suitable for promotion in 1832 — John Bell, George Deschambeault, Thomas Fraser, Donald Manson, William Nourse and Pierre Pambrun.

The Character Book then tells us much about the nature of the men who helped the Hudson's Bay Company to its period of greatest dominance in the North American fur trade. They emerge not as names in an official letter or signatures at the end of a formal report, but as human beings, usually fallible, sometimes frail and inconsequent. Many are shown in a harsh, ungenerous light which magnifies the imperfections and deepens the shadows. As a feat of memory and sustained reportage the Character Book is a *tour de force*; as a series of personal assessments it often reveals as much about Simpson at this time as about the men he described. In presenting the volume here in full, with as much annotation as seems practical and desirable, the Editor hopes that other historians will be assisted to draw their own conclusions about George Simpson and the officers of the Hudson's Bay Company in the second quarter of the nineteenth century.



TABLE I  
CHIEF FACTORS

	<i>Date of Birth</i>	<i>Joined NWC PFC or XY Co.</i>	<i>Joined HBC</i>	<i>Retired</i>	<i>Date of Death</i>	<i>Approx. age in 1832</i>	<i>Approx. length of service (NWC, HBC) in 1832</i>
1. Colin Robertson	27 July 1783	c. 1803 (left 1809)	1814	1840	4 February 1842	49	23
2. Alexander Stewart		1796	1821	1833	7 June 1840		36
3. John George McTavish		1798	1821	Died in service	20 July 1847		34
4. John Clarke	1781	1804 (NWC) 1811 (PFC)	1814	1835	28 July 1858	51	28
5. George Keith	29 December 1779	before 1813	1821	1845	22 January 1859	53	20 +
6. John Dugald Cameron	c. 1777	1790s	1821	1846	30 March 1857	55	35 <sup>2</sup>
7. John Charles	c. 1784		1799	1843	after 1859	48	33
8. John Stuart	1779	1799	1821	1839	14 January 1847	53	33
9. Edward Smith		before 1806	1821	1840	1849		26 +
10. John McLoughlin	19 October 1784	1803	1821	1849	3 September 1857	48	29
11. James Keith	12 March 1782	by 1814	1821	1845	27 January 1851	50	18 +
12. Joseph Beioley	c. 1785		1800	1843	8 April 1859	47	32
13. Angus Bethune	1783	before 1814	1821	1841	1858	49	18 +
14. Donald McKenzie	1783	before 1814	1821	1835	20 January 1851	49	18 +
15. Alexander Christie	1792		1809	1853	1872	40	23
16. John McBean	c. 1778	before 1804	1821	1837	c. 1854	54	28 +
17. William McIntosh	1784	before 1816	1821	1837	16 February 1842	48	16 +
18. William Connolly	1787	c. 1801	1821	1843	1849	45	31
19. John Rowand	c. 1787	c. 1803	1821	Died in service	30 May 1854	45	29
20. James McMillan	1783	before 1804	1821	1839	1858	49	28 +
21. Peter Warren Dease	1788	1801 (XY) 1804 (NWC)	1821	1843	17 January 1863	44	31
22. Allan McDonell	1778	1799 (XY) 1804 (NWC)	1821	1843	15 June 1859 <sup>2</sup>	54	33
23. John Lee Lewes	1791		1807	1853	1872	41	25
24. Roderick McKenzie	1772	before 1804	1821	1852	2 January 1859	60	28 +
25. Duncan Finlayson	c. 1796		1815	1859 (served on London Committee 1859-62)	25 July 1862	36	17

TABLE II  
CHIEF TRADERS

	<i>Date of Birth</i>	<i>Joined NWC PFC or XY Co.</i>	<i>Joined HBC</i>	<i>Retired</i>	<i>Date of Death</i>	<i>Approx. age in 1832</i>	<i>Approx. length of service (NWC, HBC) in 1832</i>
1. Jacob Corrigan	c. 1772		1790	1840	1844	60	42
2. Thomas McMurray	c. 1770	c. 1790 (NWC)	1821	1843	1849	62	42
3. Donald McIntosh	1773	c. 1790	1821	1840	November 1845	59	42
4. John Peter Pruden	c. 1778		1791	1837	1868	54	41
5. Hugh Faries	c. 1776	1804	1821	1840	1852	56	28
6. Angus Cameron	c. 1782	1801	1821	1845	1876	50	31
7. Simon McGillivray, Jr.	1790	1813	1821	Died in service	14 June 1840	42	19
8. John McLeod, Sr.	c. 1786		1811	Died in service	24 July 1849	46	21
9. Alexander R. McLeod	c. 1782	1802	1821	on furlough	11 June 1840	50	30
10. Alexander Fisher	c. 1783	c. 1815	1821	1845	1847	49	17
11. Samuel Black	1780	1802 (XY) 1804 (NWC)	1823	Died in service	8 February 1841	52	30
12. Peter Skene Ogden	1790	c. 1810	1823	Died in service	27 September 1854	38	22
13. Cuthbert Cumming	1787	1804	1821	1846	5 April 1870	45	28
14. Francis Heron	1794		1812	1839	April 1840	38	20
15. John Siveright	c. 1779	1799 (XY) 1804 (NWC)	1821	1849	4 September 1856	53	33
16. Robert Miles	1795		1818	1861	1870	39	14
17. Colin Campbell	c. 1787	1804	1821	1853	9 November 1853	45	28
18. Alexander McTavish	c. 1784	1813	1812	Died in service	9 December 1832	48	19
19. Archibald McDonald	c. 1785	1812 (Lord Selkirk)	1820	1848	15 January 1853	47	12
20. John Edward Harriott	c. 1797		1809	1855	7 February 1866	35	23
21. Robert Cowie	c. 1795	c. 1811	1821	1846	6 June 1859	37	21
22. Donald Ross	c. 1797		1816	On leave of absence	19 November 1852	35	16
23. Aemilius Simpson	1793		1826	Died in service	2 September 1831	39	6
24. John Work	1792		1814	Died in service	22 December 1861	40	18
25. William Todd	c. 1784		1816	On furlough	22 December 1851	48	16
					1851-52		

## FIRST CLASS<sup>1</sup> 1832

No. 1 [Colin Robertson] A frothy trifling conceited man, who would starve in any other Country and is perfectly useless here: fancies, or rather attempts to pass himself off as a clever fellow, a man of taste, of talents and of refinement; to none of which I need scarcely say he has the smallest pretension.<sup>2</sup> He was bred to his Fathers Trade an operative Weaver in the Town of Perth, but was too lazy to live by his Loom, read Novels, became Sentimental and fancied himself the hero of every tale of Romance that passed through his hands. Ran away from his master, found employment for a few months as a Grocers Shopman at New York, but had not sufficient steadiness to retain his Situation. pushed his way into Canada and was at the Age of 25 engaged as *Apprentice Clerk* by the N W Co for whom he came to the interior, but found so useless that he was dismissed the Service.<sup>3</sup> His age about 55<sup>4</sup> and his person of which he is exceedingly vain, large, soft, loosely thrown together inactive and helpless to infirmity. He is full of silly boasting & Egotism, rarely deals

<sup>1</sup> That is, Chief Factors.

<sup>2</sup> More details of this aspect of Robertson's character are given in the diary kept by Frances Simpson, the Governor's eighteen-year-old bride, who met Robertson at York Factory in 1830. It would be surprising if her views did not reflect to some degree the strong ones held by her husband: 'There is one character however, I cannot resist showing up in particular: this is no less a personage than Chief Factor Colin Robertson, who considers himself the Chesterfield of Rupert's Land, and therefore surpassing all others in elegant manners and polite conversation.

During the time he remained here, he took a wonderful fancy for beaung one round the Fort, when he never failed expressing his regret (in exceedingly bad English) that the rest of the gentlemen were so little adapted for Ladies' Society . . .

He always took care to broach subjects in which the names of great, or learned men were to be introduced, with whom he was sure to be in habits of close friendship . . . the author Washington Irving was his most intimate friend . . . the irreparable loss England had sustained by the death of his much-valued, and lamented friend Canning . . . He thus by affecting the polished, fine and polite gentleman rendered himself quite ridiculous and a perfect annoyance . . .' Grace Lee Nute, 'Journey for Frances', *The Beaver*, Summer 1954, p. 18.

The next year Robertson arrived at Red River with his half-breed wife Theresa Chalifoux, only to be contemptuously rebuffed by Simpson:

'Robertson brought his bit of Brown wh him to the Settlement this Spring in hopes that she would pick up a few English manners before visiting the civilized world; but it would not do—I told him distinctly that the thing was impossible which mortified him exceedingly.' Simpson to J. G. McTavish, 15 August 1831. B.135/c/2, fo. 73.

<sup>3</sup> On the contrary, Robertson left the North West Company in 1809 of his own accord, and took with him a testimonial from McTavish, McGillivrays and Co. declaring that 'On your taking leave of the North West, it is but bare justice in us to bear testimony to the Zeal and Fidelity with which you have served the North West Company during a residence of six years in the Indian Country. We could have wished that prospects had been more favourable in that country, so as to induce your persevering, but your determination being different, we shall sincerely rejoice to hear of your success in life.' *H.B.R.S.*, II, xxv.

<sup>4</sup> About forty-nine in fact; Robertson was born 27 July 1783 at Perth.



in plain matter of fact and his integrity is very questionable. To the Fur Trade he is quite a Burden, and a heavy burden too, being a compound of folly and extravagance, and disarranging and throwing into confusion whatsoever he puts his hand to in the shape of business.<sup>1</sup> The concern would gain materially by allowing him to enjoy his situation a thousand Miles distant from the scene of operations instead of being taxed with his nominal Services in the Country.<sup>2</sup>

No. 2 [Alexander Stewart]<sup>3</sup> An easy, mild tempered, well disposed little man about 52 Years of Age; speaks Cree well, and acquires influence over Indians by his kind treatment and patient attention to them; but his diminutive size and retiring diffident manner, unfit him very much for the 'rough & tumble' of the business. He is a man of strict integrity & veracity<sup>4</sup> but 'tis strongly suspected is given to tippling in private.

<sup>1</sup> In 1830 Simpson was outraged by Robertson's mishandling of the arrangements for transporting goods to Norway House: 'Robertson has bedeviled the Winter Road, incurred much expence destroyed a great deal of provisions, damaged most of the pieces 150 still remaining in the Woods. Killed 6 of the Oxen in short has made an infernal jumble of the business & confused & confounded every thing connect wh. it'. Simpson to J. G. McTavish, 30 July 1830. B.135/c/2, fo. 52.

<sup>2</sup> Simpson's judgment of the rather pathetic figure that Robertson cut in the 1830s was probably accurate, if harsh; but as an assessment of Robertson 'in the round' this entry is perhaps the most cruelly unfair of any in the Character Book. In moving without pause from Robertson's youthful days in the fur trade to his later years, Simpson ignored the spirited contribution Robertson made to the survival of the Hudson's Bay Company in the last fierce years of the conflict with the North West Company. In the prime of life, Robertson between 1815 and 1820 brought to the struggle against the Northwesters 'Opposition as these men understand it', and his services were recognized by the Company in 1821 when it awarded him a gratuity of £1,000 and appointed him Chief Factor under the Deed Poll of that year. (For Robertson in this period see E. E. Rich's introduction to *H.B.R.S.*, II.) In the changed circumstances which followed the coalition of 1821 Robertson, never noted for his administrative capabilities, and with his 'constitution already broken', was a misfit. As early as 1821 Simpson, newly-appointed Governor of the Northern Department, and anxious to claim maximum credit for the Company's success in Athabasca, castigated Robertson as 'useless, speculative and extravagant'; and although he remained in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company until 1840, Robertson never again rendered real service. As Chief Factor he supervised relatively undemanding areas of the fur trade until 1832, when illness left him with some paralysis of the left side. The Company allowed him repeated extensions of furlough on grounds of ill health until 1837, when he took command of the insignificant post of New Brunswick in the Southern Department, and then accepted a further year's leave in 1839-40 before his formal retirement. In 1841, much to the surprise of his old colleagues in the fur trade, Robertson was elected representative of the Lake of Two Mountains constituency in the new Legislative Assembly of Canada, but died in Montreal from an accident on 4 February 1842. He left his finances, in death as in life, 'in a state of great confusion and embarrassment'. *H.B.R.S.*, I, 461-3; H.B.C. Archives Dept. file.

<sup>3</sup> 'Sandy' Stewart served the North West Company from 1796 to the coalition of 1821 when he became a Chief Factor of the Hudson's Bay Company. Thereafter he was in charge at Fort William, Island Lake and Fort Chipewyan. Granted furlough in 1832 on grounds of ill health, he retired from the service in 1833 and died in 1840. W. S. Wallace, editor, *Documents relating to the North West Company* (Toronto, Champlain Society, 1934), p. 499.

<sup>4</sup> Stewart's last months with the Company saw an episode involving Mary, the young daughter of J. G. McTavish, which Simpson and his colleagues obviously felt was out of character. The matter was summed up by Allan McDonell when he wrote some time later that 'Mary . . . is married to George Ross, & will you believe that old Sandy Stewart fell in love with her previously to her marriage with Ross; but alas he failed time had furrowed his cheek too much for a Girl of fifteen . . .' B.239/c/2, fo. 280.

No. 3 [John George McTavish]<sup>1</sup> Was the most finished man of business we had in the Country, well Educated, respectably connected and more of the Man of the World in his conversation and address than any of his colleagues.<sup>2</sup> A good hearted Man and generous to extravagance, but unnecessarily dignified and high minded which leads to frequent difficulties with his associates by whom he is considered a 'Shylock' and upon many of whom he looks down;<sup>3</sup> rather strong in his prejudices against, and partialities for individuals, which frequently influences his judgement, so that his opinions on men and things must be listened to with caution: is about 54 Years of Age, has of late Years become very heavy unwieldy and inactive;<sup>4</sup> over fond of good living and I must fear is getting into habits of conviviality and intemperance.<sup>5</sup>

No. 4 [John Clarke] A boasting, ignorant low fellow who rarely

<sup>1</sup> McTavish entered the service of the North West Company in 1798, became a partner in 1813 and at the coalition of 1821 was appointed Chief Factor in the Hudson's Bay Company. Until 1829 he was in charge at York Factory, and then after a year's furlough he was given the less important command at Moose until 1835. From 1836 until his death on 20 July 1847 he was in command of the Lake of Two Mountains district on the Ottawa River. *H.B.R.S.* I, 456-7.

<sup>2</sup> For 'a man of business' McTavish seems to have been in serious personal financial difficulties at about this time. In July 1831 Edward Smith noted that 'from some of my friends last summer I was told that money was cutting him up', and in December 1833 McTavish himself wrote '... I had thought of getting away in one or two outfits but I am so miserably poor that I am afraid of coming to want if adrift in the world — I have been thoughtless in money matters having hopes of getting some windfall which would have made up matters . . .' Glazebrook, *Hargrave Correspondence*, pp. 77, 124. Even Colin Robertson, scarcely a model of financial rectitude, referred in 1831 to McTavish's 'generous, and I may add extravagant habits of life'. D.5/4, fo. 3.

<sup>3</sup> Some of the problems in personal relations to which Simpson alludes undoubtedly stemmed from McTavish's arrival at Moose in the autumn of 1830 with a Scottish wife, and his subsequent snubbing of the mixed-blood wives and families of other Company officers. A forecast of trouble to come was made within days of McTavish's wedding, when Donald Ross wrote to James Hargrave from Edinburgh of the event: 'Now my friend what think you of that? — if I mistake not both our worthy Govr. & Mr McMillan are about speculating in matrimonial schemes likewise I think the presence of these ladies will somewhat alarm our poor homespun country squaws, to some of them at least it will be anything but a gratifying sight.' PAC, Hargrave Papers, microfilm reel C-73, Series 1, fo. 215. For more details see Sylvia Van Kirk, 'Women and the Fur Trade' in *The Beaver*, Winter 1972, pp. 19, 21; and entries for Stuart, McKenzie and Beioley *infra*.

<sup>4</sup> Edward Smith wrote of McTavish in 1834: 'I never saw such a stout man as Mr McTavish He is corpulent in the extreme.' PAC, Hargrave Papers, MG 19, A 21 (1), V.3, p. 813. Even so, in May 1832 McTavish was recorded as having made the fastest canoe journey within living memory from Moose to Michipicoten. See B.129/a/16, 28 May 1832.

<sup>5</sup> It is not easy to tell from this entry, generally favourable though it is by the rigorous standards of the Character Book, that McTavish was Simpson's closest friend in the fur-trade country, and the recipient of a remarkably frank private correspondence from Simpson over a long period of time. The nature of the correspondence was shown in a reference by Simpson in a letter to McTavish from Red River in April 1831: 'I have now the pleasure to acknowledge rect. of your highly acceptable 'private & confidential' and 'private' favors of 10th January. These, likewise all others from you which are not Business Letters, shall as usual be considered strictly confidential by me, open neither to the Eyes or Ears of any besides myself; and mine, I expect of course will be held equally sacred by you. With this understanding you shall have from me whatever comes uppermost without reserve and your correspondence will I trust be of the same frank confidential off hand character.' B.135/c/2 fo. 62. Earlier that year Simpson had told McTavish, 'I beg that all my recent letters as well as this be committed to the flames after perusal' (*ibid.*, fo. 57), an exhortation McTavish ignored since B.135/c/2 contains the originals of Simpson's letters to him.



speaks the truth and is strongly suspected of dishonesty<sup>1</sup>; his commanding appearance & pompous manner, however, give him a good deal of influence over Indians and Servants;<sup>2</sup> and his total want of every principle or feeling, allied to fair dealing, honour & integrity, together with his cruel & Tyrannical disposition render him eminently qualified for playing the lawless, cold blooded Bravo in opposition. He is in short a disgrace to the 'Fur Trade'; about 52 Years of Age.<sup>3</sup>

No. 5 [George Keith]<sup>4</sup> About 48 Years of Age. A man of highly correct conduct and Character and much attention to his business; well Educated and respectably connected: Not wanting in personal courage

<sup>1</sup> In 1831 Simpson had discovered that Clarke had been involved in some rather dubious dealings over cattle which he had bought from John Stuart in 1827 or 1828 for something over £30. 'For the first time I now learn that Mr Clarke has turned the speculation to good account by selling to the amount of £65.9/-, a very irregular & improper traffic — to say the least of it. These Cattle have been all this time maintained at the Company's expense, their Servants built the house in which they were kept, cultivated the grain cut & made the hay upon they were fed, and attended upon them summer & winter, when they would otherwise have been usefully employed in other Duties . . . It appears to me that our Friend has been studying to advantage the Seven last verses of the 30th Chapter of Genesis.' D.4/18, fos. 39, 39d.

<sup>2</sup> Frances Simpson wrote of him in 1830, 'pompous in his manner, seems to study every word he utters, and in short affects the fine Gentleman; apparently considering himself far superior in refinement of taste & manners to his neighbours.' *The Beaver*, Summer 1954, p. 16.

<sup>3</sup> Born at Montreal in 1781, Clarke entered the service of the North West Company in 1804, the Pacific Fur Company in 1811, and the Hudson's Bay Company in 1814. Even in this period of turbulence in the fur trade, Clarke was noted for his reckless violence, and Simpson (who in his first encounter with Clarke in 1820 warned him, 'the North West Company are not to be put down by Prize fighting, but by persevering industry') unsuccessfully tried to prevent his appointment as Chief Factor at the coalition of 1821. Simpson's distrust of Clarke was borne out by the factor's inability to adapt to peace-time conditions in the fur trade. He was removed from Red River to Lesser Slave Lake after conduct castigated by the London Committee in 1823 as 'unwarrantable . . . extremely imprudent and discreet . . . preposterous and indecorous' (A.6/20, fo. 109), and although in 1830 Simpson wrote favourably of his management of Swan River district (D.4/97, fos. 30d.-31), further storms lay ahead. On 8 June 1831 Simpson wrote to McTavish: 'Our friend Clark has had his trip to England for nothing, the committee treated him with the contempt he deserved and he is in high dudgeon. When he reached Canada a letter from me was put into his hand which perfectly amazed him & drove him stark mad . . . I transcribe an extract of one of his Letters to the committee which will make you laugh "To the joint efforts of Mr Robertson & myself are the HB Coy in a great measure indebted for the splendor & importance of their rank & standing in the great Commercial World". Well done John!' B.135/c/2, fo. 69. A few days later Simpson wrote to Angus Cameron of Clarke: 'he is a vain silly idiot who will go to the dl in the end' (Cameron Papers, HBC Arch. Dept. transcripts from originals in possession of Mrs Elaine Mitchell, 16 June 1831). In August 1831 Simpson informed McTavish that Clarke was being posted to Mingan and continued, 'I have had the Rod in pickle for him these 2 years past his appointment to Mingan will be the ruin & damnation of the fellow . . .' B.135/c/2, fo. 73d. At Mingan Clarke was almost immediately involved in disputes with his superior in the Montreal Department, James Keith, and after two years' furlough he retired from the Company's service in 1835. Clarke was granted an allowance from the Company of £50 per annum in 1848 because of 'extreme poverty', and in 1851 was reported in Montreal 'still alive but he looks poor and miserable.' He died on 28 July 1858. *H.B.R.S.*, I, 433-5; H.B.C. Archives Dept. file.

<sup>4</sup> Brother of James Keith, and born in Scotland in 1779, George Keith entered the service of the North West Company, and became a partner in 1813. At the coalition of 1821 he was made Chief Factor in the Hudson's Bay Company, and during his long period of service until his retirement in 1845 was in charge of English River district, Lake Superior district and Moose. He died at Aberdeen on 22 January 1859. *H.B.R.S.*, I, 443; H.B.C. Archives Dept. file.



when pushed altho' rather timid, nervous and indecisive on ordinary occasions.<sup>1</sup> Speaks Cree and understands Chipewyan.

No. 6 [John Dugald Cameron]<sup>2</sup> About 58 Years of Age; Strictly correct in all his conduct and dealings, and possesses much influence over the Natives: Speaks Saulteaux well, and is one of our best Indian Traders;<sup>3</sup> but in other respects not a man of business; not well Educated, yet possesses a good deal of general information having read almost every Book that ever came within his reach.<sup>4</sup>

No. 7 [John Charles]<sup>5</sup> A plain blunt Englishman about 50 Years of Age, not well Educated,<sup>6</sup> yet regular œconomical and attentive to his

<sup>1</sup> Of Keith's management of the Lake Superior district at Michipicoten, Simpson wrote to the London Committee in 1831 'that it deservedly merits my own unqualified approbation and that of every Gentleman who is interested in the business . . .', but together with Alexander Stewart, Keith came in for some indirect criticism of his activities in trapping bare the country around Fort Chipewyan. Simpson wrote to John Charles in December 1830: 'I fear that each successive manager of the Honble Company's affairs in that quarter has been more anxious to establish for himself the reputation of a Pack Maker or first rate Indian Trader than to consult the permanent interests of the Honble Company and Fur Trade. I regret very much being under the necessity of making those remarks on the management of my friends Messrs Keith & Stewart, but I cannot in justice to myself and the interests I represent suppress them.' D.4/18, fo. 9. In January 1831 Simpson wrote even more bluntly to J. G. McTavish about Keith — 'he is most anxious to do well indeed over anxious which occasions a timidity and want of decision which does much harm . . .' B.135/c/2, fo. 55d.

<sup>2</sup> Born in Canada about 1777, Cameron entered the service of the North West Company in the 1790s and was made a partner in 1813. He became a Chief Factor in the Hudson's Bay Company at the coalition of 1821, and was in charge of the Columbia district until 1824. The rest of his service was spent east of the mountains up to his retirement in 1846. He died at Grafton, Ontario, on 30 March 1857. *H.B.R.S.*, II, 207.

<sup>3</sup> In May 1830 Thomas McMurray wrote from Rainy Lake about Cameron: 'I have known Indian traders in the Country, who have gained the esteem, and confidence of the Natives, but none like our Friend, they completely confide in him, and his fair Promise is as sure a Pledge, to them, as Bales of Goods be, his human, and upright conduct, has attached the Natives to us, that all the fair Promises and temptations of our opponents, have no effect to detach them from us . . .' Glazebrooke, *Hargrave Correspondence*, p. 54. Much of Cameron's success as an Indian trader stemmed from the fact that he had an Indian wife, probably an Ojibway or Saulteur woman. After decades of married life *à la façon du pays*, they were formally married at Red River Settlement in June 1833 (E.4/1b, fo. 237d.). Miss Van Kirk has pointed out to me that Cameron was among the very few Chief Factors at this period to have a full-blooded Indian wife.

<sup>4</sup> Cameron's relations with Simpson seem to have been consistently good. In 1830 he renamed the post at Rainy Lake Fort Frances in honour of Simpson's young wife, and in December 1832 Simpson wrote to McTavish: 'Cameron is now one of my principal supporters and a very good well meaning steady man I find him who looks at things coolly and dispassionately and does not allow himself to be led away by party feeling or prejudice.' B.135/c/2, fo. 95. In later years Cameron showed no hesitation in reprimanding the Governor for neglecting his wife in favour of business interests. In 1844, for example, he wrote to Simpson expressing regret at Frances' continuing poor health which, he commented, 'does not surprise me — she is left too much alone . . . I wish you could suppress that ardour for travelling with which you have been always prompted and make up your mind to lead a retired domestic Life.' D.5/12, fo. 581.

<sup>5</sup> Born about 1784, Charles had a long career with the Hudson's Bay Company, from his entry to the service in 1799 to his retirement in 1843. He was appointed a Chief Factor at the coalition of 1821, and at the time of this entry was in charge of the Athabasca district at Fort Chipewyan. On his retirement Charles went to Red River, but in 1845 left for Scotland and settled in Edinburgh. The date of his death is not known; his last letter to the Company was written in 1859. *H.B.R.S.*, II, 207-9; H.B.C. Archives Dept. file.

<sup>6</sup> This is a slightly surprising comment. Charles was educated at Grey Coat Hospital, and on

business:<sup>1</sup> speaks Cree and Chipewyan and has a good deal of influence with Indians, but so irritable and violent at times, that 'tis feared he will some Day get into trouble with them. He is a man of veracity and integrity,<sup>2</sup> but not bright, and would be easily led by any designing person who chose to take the trouble of Watching his peculiarities.

No. 8 [John Stuart] About 57 Years of Age, calls himself 47 — 70 winters at least, however, are marked on his countenance, but still very tough & hardy; has undergone a good deal of privation and from his persevering character was at one time the fittest man in the country for exploring Service and severe duty.<sup>3</sup> Had not the advantage of a good Education but being studious improved himself very much and having a very retentive memory is superficially conversant with many subjects.<sup>4</sup>

joining the Hudson's Bay Company in 1799 was described as 'well versed in Mathematics' (A.5/4, p. 68). As early as 1802 he received a good report from his superiors — 'he will make an excellent Officer he speaks the language well and the Indians are very fond of him . . .' B.42/b/46, pp. 21–22. In later years Charles looked back critically and regretfully at this part of his career. In 1843 he wrote to James Hargrave: 'Should it so happen that my Son, pays the attention, which he ought to his Work at the Desk, and is worthy of being kept there, I would wish You would try and retain him for another Season or two, as for Want of a little practice of this kind in the Commencement of my own Career in the Service, I was not so efficient as I might have been, *The Business of a Trader on say dealing with Indians*, is the easiest part of the employ . . .' Glazebrook, *Hargrave Correspondence*, p. 454.

<sup>1</sup> In 1830 Simpson informed the London Committee that 'Chief Factor Charles's management of this District [English River] for the last five years has been a model for regularity & oeconomy, and he has left it in the highest order.' D.4/97, fo. 27d.

<sup>2</sup> In 1824 Simpson, having caught Charles out in a minor peccadillo, expressed his surprise, since he regarded him as 'one of the most upright and correct men in the service'. F. Merk, editor, *Fur Trade and Empire: George Simpson's Journal Remarks Connected with the Fur Trade in the Course of a Voyage from York Factory to Fort George and back to York Factory 1824–1825* (Cambridge, Harvard University Press; London, Humphrey Milford; Oxford University Press, 1931), p. 9. It is perhaps worth noting that Charles fell within the wide circle of Company servants regarded by Colin Robertson as having shown insufficient fighting spirit in the struggle with the Northwesters. In 1821 Robertson included him among those Company men who 'have acquired moderate fortunes, and who never lost a meal or an hour's sleep during the present contest'. *H.B.R.S.*, II, 159. Nearer his retirement Charles was reputed to be the richest man in the fur trade (James Hargrave to Donald McKenzie, 9 July 1839: PAC, Hargrave Papers, MG 19 A21 V23), according to Letitia Hargrave 'the wealthiest man in the North' and also 'a notorious miser' M. A. MacLeod, editor, *The Letters of Letitia Hargrave* (Toronto, Champlain Society, 1947), p. 118.

<sup>3</sup> Born in Scotland in 1779, Stuart joined the North West Company in 1799 and became one of its most prominent traders, dominating the New Caledonia region from 1806 until 1824 (the last three years in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company, in which he became a Chief Factor at the coalition of 1821). During this period his best-known achievement was the journey he made with Simon Fraser in 1808 when they discovered that the Fraser River was a separate stream from the Columbia. In 1829 Simpson paid tribute to him: '... the Father or founder of New Caledonia; where for 20 years of his life, he was doomed to all the misery and privation, which that inhospitable region could bring forth, and who with a degree of exertion, of which few men were capable, overcame difficulties, to which the business of no other part of the country was exposed; bringing its return to near about their present standing, and leaving the District as a Monument of his unwearied industry and extraordinary perseverance, which will long reflect the highest credit on his name and character, as an Indian Trader.' *H.B.R.S.*, X, 25–6.

<sup>4</sup> In the service of the North West Company Stuart had the reputation of an unusually literate trader which he was clearly still at pains to protect. In a letter to James Hargrave in 1831 he wrote of Napier's *Peninsular War* 'that I never seen any piece of Historical Composition either ancient or modern that appears to me so perfect . . . Hitherto I had considered Robertsons Charles V as the



Is exceedingly vain, a great Egotist, Swallows the grossest flattery, is easily cajoled, rarely speaks the truth, indeed I would not believe him upon Oath; lavish of his own means, extravagant and irregular in business and his honesty is very questionable: a good hearted man where he takes a liking but on the contrary Malicious & Vindictive: fancies himself one of the leading & most valuable men in the Country, but his Day is gone by, and he is now worse than useless being a cloy upon the concern: has many eccentricities, & peculiarities, yet few of them do credit either to the head or heart although they afford him a privilege of speech and of action which no other man in the Country possesses; in short he is a contemptable body altogether. [May be considered in his dotage and has of late become disgustingly indecent in regard to women.]<sup>1</sup>

No. 9 [Edward Smith]<sup>2</sup> About 50 Years of Age. A very well meaning well behaved man, who through his kind conciliatory manners and upright conduct has acquired influence with Servants & Indians. Speaks Cree & Chipewyan, is an excellent Indian Trader and is most attentive to his business which is managed with regularity and œconomy.<sup>3</sup>

most perfect but now think Col Napier as far above Robertsons Charles V as Robertsons Charles V is superior to Sir Walter Scott's Napoleon.' Glazebrook, *Hargrave Correspondence*, p. 69.

<sup>1</sup> The difference between this entry and Simpson's unsolicited testimonial of three years earlier is so great that it can only be explained by the personal tensions which had developed between the two men since 1830. In 1829 Simpson thought well enough of Stuart to leave with him at Bas de la Rivière his country wife, Margaret Taylor (sister of Stuart's country wife), and son, to be joined in August 1829 by another baby. Stuart conscientiously kept the Governor, on furlough in England, informed of the doings of his country family, and must have been shocked when Simpson returned in the summer of 1830 with his English wife, Frances. To worsen matters, Stuart also found himself playing host at Simpson's insistence to the cast-off country wife, Nancy, of J. G. McTavish. The winter of 1830-1 saw complicated negotiations to make financial provision and find new husbands for the two discarded women, and although Stuart's fury was ostensibly aimed at McTavish, his rebukes to him might equally well have been directed at Simpson: 'what could be your aim in discarding her . . . She was the Wife of your choice and has born you seven Children, now Stigmatized with ignominy . . . if with a view to domestick happiness you have thus acted I fear the Aim has been Missed and that remorse will be your portion for life'. E.24/4, fo. 12. There may be a connection between this tumult and Stuart's removal to the remote Mackenzie River district in 1832, for by January 1831 Simpson wrote that he considered himself 'nearly at hot war' with Stuart and Donald McKenzie, and in April described Stuart as 'a weak silly old man who allows himself to be made a complete tool of by his designing Friend [McKenzie]' B.135/c/2, fos. 56d., 63d. The official reason for Stuart's posting was the abolition of the Winnipeg district as a separate entity, after which (Simpson informed the London Committee in August 1832) 'the services of Chief Factor Stuart became disposable . . . and Chief Factor Cameron and Chief Factor Ross can manage the business of their respective charges . . . with more facility than when they had Chief Factor Stuart seated between them . . .'. A.12/1, fo. 467. Stuart served until 1835 at Mackenzie River, and was then granted furlough subsequently extended until 1839, when he left the Company's service. He died on 14 January 1847.

<sup>2</sup> Smith joined the North West Company sometime before 1806, and became a wintering partner in 1814. He was appointed a Chief Factor of the Hudson's Bay Company at the coalition of 1821, and spent the whole of his subsequent service either in the Athabasca district at Fort Chipewyan or in the Mackenzie River district at Fort Simpson. He retired in 1840 and died in 1849. *H.B.R.S.*, I, 468.

<sup>3</sup> The favourable impression Simpson gives of Smith in this brief entry is confirmed by the latter's letters printed in Glazebrook, *Hargrave Correspondence*, unusual in that they contain no word of personal criticism or scandal. In the same collection a letter from J. G. McTavish of December



No. 10 [John McLoughlin] About 48 Years of Age. A very bustling active man who can go through a great deal of business but is wanting in system and regularity, and has not the talent of managing the few associates & clerks under his authority: has a good deal of influence with Indians and speaks Sialteaux tolerably well. Very Zealous in the discharge of his public duties and a man of strict honour and integrity but a great stickler for rights and privileges and sets himself up for a righter of Wrongs. Very anxious to obtain a lead among his colleagues with whom he has not much influence owing to his ungovernable Violent temper and turbulent disposition, and would be a troublesome man to the Compy if he had sufficient influence to form and tact to manage a party, in short, would be a Radical in any Country — under any Government and under any circumstances; and if he had not pacific people to deal with, would be eternally embroiled in 'affairs of honor' on the merest trifles arising I conceive from the irritability of his temper more than a quarrelsome disposition. Altogether a disagreeable man to do business with as it is impossible to go with him in all things and a difference of opinion almost amounts to a declaration of hostilities, yet a good hearted man and a pleasant companion.<sup>1</sup>

1833 compared Smith very favourably with John Stuart, though it must be remembered that on the latter McTavish was hardly unbiased: 'McKenzie River made a very bad exchange a Smith for a Stuart — regularity & system for Confusion & Nonsense — It must be disgusting to the Young expectants in that quarter to see an old useless hunky good for nothing but wasting Tobacco sent in as their leader — poor daddy Smith in passing Michipicoten dropped me one of his more friendly effusions I assure you I fully appreciated his goodness for I have a very high regard for him, and look upon him as one of our most sterling worthies . . .' *Ibid*, p. 125. In this general report to the London Committee in August 1832 Simpson summarized Smith's work at Mackenzie River: 'I have frequently had the occasion to notice the great zeal and unremitting attention of that Gentleman to the interests of the District, since it has fallen under his management, to which may be ascribed the vast improvement that has taken place in its affairs of late years, and, now that he is about to withdraw from it, he has the satisfaction to feel that he has been instrumental in introducing us to a new and valuable country, which promises to yield us for years to come a considerable revenue'. D.4/99, fo. 38. Simpson added that Smith was taking a year's leave, 'to visit the civilized world, from which he has been absent for upwards of 30 years'. *Ibid*, fo. 39d.

<sup>1</sup> This is probably the most familiar of all Simpson's Character Book entries. McLoughlin's achievements in the Columbia Department are too well-known and extensive for a summary to be attempted here. As Dr Kaye Lamb has written, McLoughlin's career from the date of his joining the North West Company in 1803 to his death in 1857, 'spanned a continent and embraced an entire period in the history of the Pacific Northwest'. *H.B.R.S.*, VII, E. E. Rich, editor, *The Letters of John McLoughlin From Fort Vancouver to the Governor and Committee Third Series, 1844-46* (Toronto, Champlain Society, and London, Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1944), lxii-iii. As usual, Simpson's entry here gave McLoughlin little credit for his already formidable services, but it should be read in conjunction with Simpson's encomium of the same year when he informed the London Committee of ' . . . the great exertions indefatigable labours and unremitting attention of Chief Factor McLoughlin, who, in the face of every difficulty he has had to contend with, (and they certainly were of no ordinary character), has steadily & uniformly followed up, with a degree of vigour & energy which I have rarely witnessed in this or any other country, every measure and plan which had been determined on at the commencement'. *H.B.R.S.*, IV, E. E. Rich, editor, *The Letters of John McLoughlin from Fort Vancouver to the Governor and Committee First Series, 1825-38* (Toronto, Champlain Society, and London, Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1941), ci. In private, however,

No. 11 [James Keith]<sup>1</sup> About 47 Years of Age. A scrupulously correct honourable man of a serious turn of mind, who would not to save life or fortune, do what he considered an improper thing.<sup>2</sup> Well Educated, very attentive to business in which he is regular & systematic, indeed both in business and private Life formal to a fault,<sup>3</sup> his whole words and actions being governed by what he considers the strictest rules of propriety but withall I consider him the most faultless member of the Fur Trade.

No. 12 [Joseph Beioley]<sup>4</sup> About 50 Years of Age. A steady well

Simpson was already showing concern at McLoughlin's touchiness. In July 1830 he wrote to J. G. McTavish of the 'proper War' which had broken out between McLoughlin and Chief Trader Francis Heron, and in the same letter described another quarrel with the late John Warren Dease, which 'went as far as it could well do without Powder & Ball'. B.135/c/2, fo. 52d. As yet there were few serious strains between McLoughlin and the London Committee, or between McLoughlin and Simpson. The fierce disputes over the coastal trade, American emigrants, and the death of McLoughlin's son, all lay in the future. Here it is worth noting that when Simpson was considering in 1832 the question of who might replace Donald McKenzie as Governor of Assiniboia, McLoughlin's was the name which occurred to him after that of the admirable Alexander Christie. See *ibid*, fo. 86. Further, in 1834 Simpson pushed through, and then protected against the objections of the London Committee, a resolution of the Council of the Northern Department that McLoughlin's 'valuable services in the very arduous situation he has filled at Ft Vancouver during the past 10 years' should be rewarded with gratuities amounting to £1,100. See *H.B.R.S.*, IV, cii-iii. For McLoughlin's career in general see *H.B.R.S.*, IV, VI; VII, E. E. Rich, editor, *The Letters of John McLoughlin From Fort Vancouver to the Governor and Committee Second Series, 1839-44* (Toronto, Champlain Society, and London, Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1943); XXIX, G. Williams, editor, *London Correspondence Inward from Sir George Simpson* (London, Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1973); Burt Brown Barker, *The McLoughlin Empire and its Rulers* (Glendale, California, 1959); F. V. Holman, *Dr John McLoughlin* (Cleveland, 1907).

<sup>1</sup> The brother of George Keith, James Keith was born on 12 March 1782, entered the service of the North West Company early in the nineteenth century, and became a wintering partner in 1814. At the coalition of 1821 he became Chief Factor, and from 1827 to 1843 was superintendent of the Hudson's Bay Company's affairs at Lachine, where he was in close touch with Simpson. He retired from the Company's service, with his brother, in 1845; and died in Aberdeen on 27 January 1851. *H.B.R.S.*, I, 444; H.B.C. Archives Dept. file.

<sup>2</sup> This aspect of Keith's character is shown in his will of 1826 in which he made careful provision for his two country daughters, but with an apology for their very existence, 'It having fallen to my lot (a much lamented though almost unavoidable consequence of the situation and Country wherein I have passed such a lapse of time, and which I trust will be viewed with that Christian indulgence due to human frailty and imperfection) to have two reputed children . . .' A.36/8, fo. 38. Miss Sylvia Van Kirk informs me that it was probably Keith who drew up the rules for 'the civilization and moral improvement' of the families at the Company posts which were adopted by the Northern Department Council in 1823. *H.B.R.S.*, III, E. E. Rich and R. Harvey Fleming, editors, *Minutes of Council Northern Department of Rupert Land, 1821-31* (Toronto, Champlain Society, and London, Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1940) p. 60.

<sup>3</sup> As early as 1821 J. G. McTavish had described Keith in rather similar terms as 'a stiff, formal good fellow'. Glazebrook, *Hargrave Correspondence*, p. 1. Thomas Simpson wrote more sharply of him in 1833: 'If the Governor [George Simpson] does not come out again, I have no idea who will step into his shoes. Old Keith is a dried spider: good Heavens! What a Governor!' Alexander Simpson, *Life and Travels*, p. 84. An interesting glimpse of the style in which Keith lived at Lachine is contained in Simpson's journal for 14 July 1835: ' . . . arriving at La Chine at 2 where Mr Keith received us . . . the House seems to be tolerably well conducted altho' Keith himself appears to allow the Great Man to be growing upon him as his Wealth increases. The Establishment of Servts consists of a Cook & housemaid a footman & groom. two Horses kept by the Compy & 2 by Mr Keith privately who drives a handsome Double Denet Tandem or rather his man Drives as he himself is totally ignorant of anything connected wh Horse Flesh and all belonging to it'. D.3/5, fo. 11.

<sup>4</sup> Born in Essex about 1785, Beioley entered the service of the Hudson's Bay Company in 1800



conducted little man whose word can be depended upon; tolerably well Educated, and particular and æconomical in business to excess if possible, as his peculiarities in those respects adapt him better for operations on a contracted than an extended scale.<sup>1</sup> He is not generally liked being considered vain touchy and vindictive,<sup>2</sup> but I have always been most pleased with his whole demeanour conduct and management, and his strict integrity & veracity I think cover all his faults; in short, I consider him one of the most valuable members of the Fur Trade.

No. 13 [Angus Bethune]<sup>3</sup> A very poor creature, vain, self sufficient and trifling, who makes his own comfort his principal study; possessing little Nerve and no decision in anything: of a snarling vindictive disposition, and neither liked nor respected by his associates, Servants or Indians.<sup>4</sup> His Services would be overpaid by the victuals himself & Family consume.<sup>5</sup> About 48 Years of Age.

and became a Chief Factor at the coalition of 1821. From 1822 to 1835 he supervised the Rupert River district. He retired in 1843, and died in 1859. *H.B.R.S.*, II, 205.

<sup>1</sup> During Beioley's long years of dominance at Rupert River the Company was involved in ambitious plans for the exploration of the interior of Labrador, and the establishment of a post in Ungava; but Beioley, though competent and steady, was not the man to formulate projects of this nature on his own initiative, and Simpson himself took control of the schemes launched from 1828 onwards. See *H.B.R.S.*, XXIV, K. G. Davies and A. M. Johnson, editors, *Northern Quebec and Labrador Journals and Correspondence 1819-35* (London, Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1963), xlix-lxxix. It is interesting that Colin Robertson, in so many ways the antithesis of Simpson and Beioley, noted in his own extravagant language some of the same qualities in Beioley many years earlier when the two men spent the winter of 1816-17 at Moose: 'Every thing is sacrificed to savings, no discoveries, no improvements, to sum up the whole, nothing can or will be done if there be not an immediate profit arising from it . . . every word is measured with a foot rule, and the profits on a pound of castorum is calculated to the one hundredth part of a decimal fraction . . . ambition and enterprise is smothered in the midst of minutia'. *Ibid.*, xlix.

<sup>2</sup> An unsuspected aspect of Beioley's temperament came to the fore in the winter of 1831-32, when McTavish and his Scottish wife at Moose became involved in heated quarrels with Beioley and his country wife. Simpson wrote, in surprise and warning, to McTavish in January 1832: 'I am perfectly amazed to learn that Beioley is such a vain silly body; I always took him for a man of decimals and thought him a little contracted in his ideas but that the creature could ape the exquisite or be capable of making himself and his bit of circulating *copper* so ridiculous is really astonishing. He is unquestionably a perfect model of oeconomy & good management in his district and clever in some respects — a man of strict integrity & veracity likewise . . .'. B.135/c/2, fo. 78.

<sup>3</sup> Born in Ontario in 1783, Bethune joined the North West Company, became a wintering partner in 1814, and a Chief Factor of the Hudson's Bay Company at the coalition of 1821. He subsequently served at Moose, Albany, Sault Ste Marie, Michipicoten and Lake Huron district, retired in 1841, and died in 1858. *H.B.R.S.*, II, 206.

<sup>4</sup> Bethune cuts an equally unimpressive figure in Simpson's private correspondence with McTavish. In January 1831 Simpson wrote: 'Bethune makes much ado about nothing, he writes me volumes about nothing, does nothing, & I really believe can do nothing'; and in August, 'I should like to give Bethune a start but scarcely know where to send him, he is too trifling & troublesome to be near at hand and so useless & inactive as to be unfit for a distant charge'. B.135/c/2, fos. 56, 74d. That summer Bethune was accused by Chief Factor John McBean of 'wanting in address activity & decision' when faced with a strike of canoemen at Sault Ste Marie, and although Simpson did not altogether agree with McBean's apportioning of the blame, later in the same report he described Bethune's appointment at the Sault as 'next thing to a sinecure'. D.4/98, fos. 36d, 42d.

<sup>5</sup> Bethune was married to Louisa, daughter of the Hon. Roderick McKenzie of Terrebonne, and had five sons and a daughter.



No. 14 [Donald McKenzie]<sup>1</sup> About 52 Years of Age. A large, heavy, inactive indolent Man, who makes a very bad use of the Talents he possesses, which in some respects are above mediocrity. In business he is perfectly useless and never gives it the smallest attention. His style of writing is Flowery and not inelegant, and in conversation he is smooth & plausible to such a degree that a Stranger or one unacquainted with his artifices is likely to be deceived in him: indeed his whole Life is one uniform system of art, deceit, falsehood, intrigue, suspicion, selfishness and revenge. When I brought him to this place\*<sup>2</sup> it was in the most dismal state of dissension that can be conceived owing to the misconduct of Mr Bulger & Mr Clarke and to the wretched condition of the people; a good deal of address was therefore necessary to prevent them from cutting each others throats, so that his insinuating manner, together with his disingenuous subtlety and talent in lying, rendered him eminently qualified for smoothing them over, and doing such dirty work as a Straight forward honourable conscientious man would not descend to;<sup>3</sup> he was therefore a convenient instrument in the hands of an other, but when left to himself, he had full scope of which he availed himself, for the indulgence of the bad qualities already enumerated to which may be added a degree of vanity, jealousy and malice which it is scarcely possible to conceive. For a length of time I was myself egregiously deceived by his specious reasoning, and he contrived to mystify and pervert facts and to shield himself by his hints, insinuations and falsehoods so effectively that when I came to examine into some of the charges brought against him I thought him more Sinned against than Sinning; but I now know him thoroughly, and have no hesitation in saying, that he is one of the worst and most dangerous men I ever was acquainted with.<sup>4</sup> My presence alone

<sup>1</sup> Born in Scotland in 1783, McKenzie was a cousin of Sir Alexander Mackenzie, and one of the most prominent Northwesters. A wintering partner in 1814, he made his reputation in the Snake Country, and became a Chief Factor in the Hudson's Bay Company at the coalition of 1821. From 1823 to 1833 he was in charge of Red River district, and from 1825 to 1833 held the appointment of Governor of Assiniboia. The season 1833-34 he spent at Fort William, and 1834-35 on furlough before his retirement in 1835. He died on 20 January 1851. *H.B.R.S.*, II, 233.

<sup>2</sup> In 1823. For a whole series of tributes by Simpson to McKenzie at this time see Merk, *Fur Trade and Empire*, pp. 164, 197-8, 200.

<sup>3</sup> In 1822 Colin Robertson wrote that McKenzie was 'an adept in disorganizing, splitting, and cutting up his opponents . . .'. *H.B.R.S.*, II, 198-9.

<sup>4</sup> Simpson's change of mind about McKenzie dates from the winter of 1830-31. In 1827 Simpson was writing to the London Committee that 'the management of Governor McKenzie I am happy to say has given universal satisfaction, and seemed to have more popularity and influence among all classes than any one who has yet held the situation he now fills . . .'. D.4/14, fo. 16d. In 1829 Simpson wrote in a private letter to Roderick McKenzie: 'Your brother Donald, his lady and young folks were in high health and spirits in the month of May last when I passed ten days most agreeably with them at Red River. His government is the most easy under the sun; he settles the most knotty points with a joke and a laugh, seated on a mortar opposite the gate of his fort, and is more beloved and respected by his subjects than words can tell; he is not so stout as he was, but much more healthy and looks as if he would live forever'. L. R. Masson, editor, *Les Bourgeois de la Compagnie du Nord-Ouest Récits*

keeps him Sober, but when left to himself he will assuredly become a confirmed Drunkard. \* [Red River]

No. 15 [Alexander Christie] Never were two characters so different from each other as that of the Gentleman I am now describing and of the person I have just noticed. This is one of our best characters, an honourable, correct, upright good hearted man as can be found in any Country; beloved & respected by all who know him, attentive to business qualified to be useful in any branch thereof and a valuable member of the concern. About 49 Years of Age.<sup>1</sup>

*de Voyages, Lettres et Rapports inédits relatifs au Nord-Ouest Canadien* (Quebec, 1889), Vol. I, p. 59. The next year Frances Simpson, arriving to make her first home with George Simpson at Red River, found McKenzie on first acquaintance 'a very clever man, possessing a fund of amusing anecdotes and adventures, with which he entertained me not a little'. *The Beaver*, Summer 1954, p. 15. These references confirm the definitive picture given of McKenzie at Red River by James Hargrave, when he wrote to Cuthbert Cumming in 1826: 'Your old Bourgeois is as jolly and plump as ever — rolling about in his inexhaustible good humour, happy himself — and making every one happy around him. He has now as you know the management of both the Colony & Coys affairs here, — and it would do your heart good to see him deciding cases ensconced in his elbow chair, covered with a buffalo robe, and crowned with the very identical broad scotch bonnet that he used to sport of yore. Titles and dignities make no change either on his outer or inner man. The same ample suit of grey the same piles of socks — and leggins as capacious as to a pemican Bag still decorate his visible and material parts, — to sum up all he is, as you used to call him, still Sir John Falstaff'. PAC, Hargrave Papers, microfilm reel C-80, Series 1, Book 1. But in April 1831, after spending the winter in enforced proximity to McKenzie, Simpson wrote in very different terms of McKenzie in a private letter to J. G. McTavish: 'He is not at all fit for the Charge [of Red River] being the most indolent useless man I ever knew the fact is, I never knew McKenzies habits of body or mind until this past Winter, had I been acquainted wt them sufficiently early, he never would have been a Govr . . . His appointment did not arise you are aware either from favor or affection, but from the accidental circumstances of his having been here at the time . . .' B.135/c/2, fo. 65. The situation at this time was exacerbated by personal and domestic entanglements involving McKenzie and Stuart on one side, and Simpson and McTavish on the other. When McTavish returned to Hudson Bay in 1830 with his Scottish bride, his country wife Nancy (or Matooskie) was cast off. Matooskie was McKenzie's niece, and his outraged efforts on her behalf bitterly antagonized Simpson. See Sylvia Van Kirk, *The Beaver*, Winter 1972, pp. 17–19. Although McKenzie, after an earlier country marriage, was married to the daughter of a Swiss settler, her personality did nothing to ease matters at Red River — Simpson complained to McTavish in the spring of 1831 that she 'is a silly ignorant thing, whose common place wise saws with which we are constantly persecuted, are worse than a blister'. B.135/c/2, fo. 64. In 1832 the situation had improved little, and again Simpson's letters to McTavish give the best indication of the Governor's feelings. In July he described McKenzie as 'the most useless mischievous Drone on the Face of the Earth, still enjoys his £200 p. Ann. from Lord Selkirk, while I am doing all the Work & he plotting intriguing, planning mischief and endeavouring to undo all I am doing'. *Ibid.*, fo. 86. In December Simpson added that the job of Governor of Assiniboia was, or should be, active and demanding — 'not to seat himself on the end of Gun & bask in the Sun retailing Stale jokes from morning to night . . .' *Ibid.*, fo. 94d. Although Simpson's antagonism towards McKenzie was clearly sharpened by domestic discords, there is other evidence that McKenzie in these last years of his service with the Company was unable to keep pace with the changes at Red River. In July 1830, just before Simpson reached the Settlement, James Hargrave (an affectionate admirer of McKenzie) hinted at this in two letters to friends: 'The Govr. winters at RR — where changes are beseiging our old bourgeois Donald, more than what ever his patience can bear'; 'A Stone Fort is to be built . . . and our faithful old friend is scowling from below his bonnet at the whirling changes which surround his mud lined cell — Adieu now to legs and yarns, four chairs in a row, Grey Capots and Bonnet and Socks I verily believe he now solemnly wishes clear . . .' PAC, Hargrave Papers, MG 19 A 21(1) v.21.

<sup>1</sup> Born in 1792 in Scotland, Christie joined the Hudson's Bay Company in 1809 and spent the years before the coalition of 1821 at Moose Factory or Rupert's House. After the coalition he built a reputation as one of the steadiest Chief Factors in the service, and when he moved from Moose to



No. 16 [John McBain]<sup>1</sup> About 54 Years of Age. An ignorant, illiterate common kind of fellow, whose only talent consists of a little low cunning and falsehood. Has been a tolerable bruiser, was at one time a tolerable Snow Shoe walker and his imagination being fertile in little trick and artifice was some years ago useful in opposition, but he is now becoming indolent and unserviceable.<sup>2</sup>

No. 17 [William McIntosh] About 53 Years of Age. A revengeful cold blooded black hearted Man whom I consider capable of anything that is bad: possessing no abilities beyond such as qualify him to cheat an unfortunate Indian and to be guilty of a mean dirty trick: Suspicious, Cruel & Tyrannical without honour or integrity, in short, I have never been able to discover one good trait in his character.<sup>3</sup> [Since writing this, the report noticed in my private letter has reached me.]

York in 1829 Simpson noted that he left his old district 'in a state of such high order and regularity that Chief Factor McTavish will find little room for alterations or improvements . . .' D.4/97, fo. 42. References to Christie in private correspondence bear out Simpson's warm praise of the Chief Factor. At York James Hargrave described him in 1830 as 'a plain, honest upright Gentleman — the best tempered man alive . . .' PAC, Hargrave Papers, microfilm reel C-80, Series 1, Book 6. Soon after Christie arrived at Red River in 1833, James McMillan wrote: 'Mr Christie makes a most excellent Governor. The people have the outmost confidence in him he keeps free from *nasty intrigues* he is never found out in any thing but down right sterling truth and firm enough in his way of acting. We live quit happy under him'. Glazebrook, *Hargrave Correspondence*, p. 122. Thomas Simpson wrote in similar vein the same year: 'A worthier and more honourable man I believe never existed. I feel particularly happy in working under him'. Alexander Simpson, *Life and Travels*, p. 79. Christie succeeded Donald McKenzie at Fort Garry as Governor of Assiniboia from 1833 to 1839, and filled that post again between 1844 and 1848. He retired in 1853 after three years furlough, and died in 1872. Marc la Terreur, editor, *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1972) Vol. X, pp. 167–8.

<sup>1</sup> Born about 1778, McBean (sometimes spelt McBain) joined the North West Company before 1804, and became a Chief Factor in the Hudson's Bay Company at the coalition of 1821. Until his retirement in 1837 he was in charge of the Lake Huron district. He died c. 1854. *H.B.R.S.*, I, 448.

<sup>2</sup> On 5 January 1831 Simpson wrote to McBean a letter very critical of his management, referring in particular to the dissatisfied state of both the clerks and other servants under him. Matters had come to a head with the 'mutiny' of McBean's canoemen at the Sault the previous summer, an episode blamed by McBean, but clearly not by Simpson, on Bethune. Simpson's tone was the sharper since McBean insisted on having Canadian servants under his command, and consistently rejected Simpson's suggestions that he should accept Orkneymen instead. D.4/18, fos. 31–3. Two days before this letter Simpson had written privately to McTavish: 'McBain is constantly in trouble one year he ascribes the loss of his Trade & the ascendancy of his opponents to the want of a few pieces of printed cotton another to the want of guns another to the bad quality of his capots & another the want of 4 men applied for but never to his own management'. B.135/c/2, fo. 55.

<sup>3</sup> Born in 1784 at Grand Rapids, McIntosh joined the North West Company and became a wintering partner in 1816. He was a prominent figure in the opposition to the Hudson's Bay Company, and in 1819 Robertson wrote of him: 'the whole of his conduct during the present contest, was marked by the most deliberate and wanton acts of cruelty towards the Company's servants.' *H.B.R.S.*, I, 92. McIntosh was made a Chief Trader at the coalition of 1821, and a Chief Factor in 1823. In 1825 one of his colleagues reported to Simpson that 'to indulge his ill nature, low cunning and the fancies of his Wife and Daughter (who in reality govern both him and the affairs under his Management) would and does sacrifice his own and the Co<sup>ys</sup> interests.' Merk, *Fur Trade and Empire*, p. 151. McIntosh served the Company at Dunvegan, Athabasca district, Nelson House and Cumberland House before retiring in 1837 after two years furlough. He died on 16 February 1842. *H.B.R.S.*, I, 452.



No. 18 [William Connolly]<sup>1</sup> About 45 Years of Age. An active useful man whose Zeal and exertions have generally been crowned with success, whose Word may be depended on in most things, and whom I consider incapable of doing anything that is mean or dishonorable. His temper, however, is violent to madness when roused, he is at times Hypochondriacal, always tenacious of his rights privileges and dignity, disposed to magnify his own exploits and to over rate his Services which nonetheless are valuable, rather domineering and Tyrannical, but on the whole a respectable and useful Member of our Community.

No. 19 [John Rowand]<sup>2</sup> About 46 Years of Age. One of the most pushing bustling Men in the Service whose zeal and ambition in the discharge of his duty is unequalled, rendering him totally regardless of every personal Comfort and indulgence. Warm hearted and Friendly in an extraordinary degree where he takes a liking, but on the contrary his prejudices exceedingly strong. Of a fiery disposition and as bold as a Lion. An excellent Trader who has the peculiar talent of attracting the fiercest Indians to him while he rules them with a Rod of Iron and so daring that he beards their Chiefs in the open camp while surrounded by their Warriors:<sup>3</sup> has likewise a Wonderful influence over his people.

<sup>1</sup> Born at Lachine in 1787, Connolly joined the North West Company about 1801 and became a wintering partner in 1818. At the coalition of 1821 he became a Chief Trader of the Hudson's Bay Company, and Chief Factor in 1825, in charge of New Caledonia. He returned east in 1831, leaving 'the District in a much more flourishing condition than he found it' (Glazebrook, *Hargrave Correspondence*, p. 63), and from 1832 to 1841 was in charge of the King's Posts along the Gulf of St Lawrence. He described himself in 1830 as 'Being a bit of an Irishman, and besides that a most devout Catholic' (*ibid.*, p. 42). In 1832 he married his wealthy cousin at Montreal, a move which prompted Simpson to make the following dry comment to McTavish: 'You would have heard of Connolly's Marriage — he was one of those who considered it a most unnatural proceeding "to desert the mother of his children" and marry another; this is all very fine, very Sentimental and very kind-hearted 3000 miles from the Civilized world but is lost sight of even by Friend Connolly where a proper opportunity offers'. B.135/c/2, fo. 96. He retired in 1843 after two years' furlough, and died in 1849. *H.B.R.S.*, II, 209.

<sup>2</sup> Born about 1787, Rowand entered the service of the North West Company at the turn of the century, and shortly before the coalition of 1821 was made a partner. In 1821 he became a Chief Trader of the Hudson's Bay Company, and in 1826 a Chief Factor. From 1823 until 1854 he was at Edmonton House as head of the Saskatchewan district. He died on 30 May 1854 at Fort Pitt, still in the Company's service, the last surviving officer who had been appointed to a commission. under the Deed Poll of 1821. *H.B.R.S.*, II, 240-1.

<sup>3</sup> There are many stories about Rowand's encounters with the Plains Indians during his long command at Edmonton; for some of them see Ross Mitchell, 'John Rowand Chief Factor' in *The Beaver*, June 1935, pp. 37-40. Simpson came to an early appreciation of Rowand's qualities; for example he wrote in 1825 that when he reached Fort Edmonton, '... found Mr Rowand up to his Ears in business as usual and without exception he is the most active and best qualified person for the troublesome charge he has got of any man in the Indian Country'. Merk, *Fur Trade and Empire*, p. 150. In 1830 Frances Simpson noted that Rowand was 'one of the most attached friends Mr Simpson has in the Country', and went on 'He is a remarkably lively good tempered Man, with a Countenance which bespeaks drollery, and good humour'. *The Beaver*, Summer 1954, p. 16. In 1832 Rowand had shown, in the words of Simpson's official report, 'a degree of zeal which is rarely to be met with, and of daring courage truly chivalrous' by going south in pursuit of a large band of Piegan Indians, who, after being outfitted by the Hudson's Bay Company had deserted to the American Fur Company. D.4/99, fos. 43d-44d. In the same report Simpson noted that the Indians knew Rowand as 'Iron

Has by his superior management realized more money for the concern than any three of his Colleagues since the Coalition;<sup>1</sup> and altho' his Education has been defective is a very clear headed clever fellow. Will not tell a lie (which is very uncommon in this Country) but has sufficient address to evade the truth when it suits his purpose: full of drollery and humour and generally liked and respected by Indians Servants and his own equals.<sup>2</sup>

No. 20 [James McMillan]<sup>3</sup> About 49 Years of Age. A very steady plain blunt man, shrewd & sensible of correct conduct and good character, but who has gone through a vast deal of severe duty<sup>4</sup> and is fit for any Service requiring physical strength firmness of mind and good Management provided he has no occasion to meddle with Pen & Ink in the use of which he is deficient his Education having been neglected.<sup>5</sup>

Shirt'. A later description noted that Rowand was 'a powerful, but not very tall man of rough, determined aspect, and very lame from an early accident', and that he was known among the local Indians as 'Big Mountain'. W. S. Wallace, editor, *Lefroy's Journey 1843-44*, Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, Section II (1938), p. 93.

<sup>1</sup> In a letter to Rowand on 18 December 1830 Simpson put the Chief Factor's achievement in more precise terms: 'We have so frequently & so fully gone into the affairs of the Saskatchewan, that little remains for me to say thereon now, especially to you who know its interests so well and have ever been so much alive to them. At the Coalition before you were appointed to the charge of that Department it yielded a loss instead of a gain, but by your superior management it became in the course of a few years the most profitable in the Indian Country. This was effected by the three following causes, a great reduction of expenses, the encouragement given to the plain tribes who made their hunts on & across the Mountains and towards the Banks of the Missouri and the measures you took to rouse to industry & exertion the thick wood Indians & half Breeds attached to the Establishments.' D.4/18, fo. 11d.

<sup>2</sup> On hearing of Rowand's death Simpson wrote to the London Committee on 30 June 1854: 'During my long experience in this country, I do not recollect any occasion on which the death of an officer produced so great a sensation or so general a sorrow. For literally "half a century" Mr Rowand had been conspicuous as the most influential white man among the wild Indian tribes of the plains; he commenced his career in 1804 on the Saskatchewan of which district he had the charge for upwards of 30 years and there in 1854 he closed his long and active life. With him, it may be said, the old race of Officers is extinct, he being the last on the list who held a commission at the date of the coalition — It is not usual in a public communication of this description to refer to private feelings, but on this occasion I trust I may be permitted to record my personal tribute of regard for the memory of an old and staunch friend, from whom both in a public and private capacity I ever received a firm and consistent support — frequently at times when councils were divided and such support was valuable. He was a man of Sterling integrity and a warm heart and was not surpassed by any officer in the service for unswerving devotion to the public interests'. D.4/74, pp. 409-10.

<sup>3</sup> Born in Scotland about 1783, McMillan entered the service of the North West Company sometime before 1804. At the coalition of 1821 he became a Chief Trader of the Hudson's Bay Company in the Columbia Department, and Chief Factor in 1827. In 1830 McMillan was given charge of the experimental farm at Red River, and in 1834 charge of the Lake of Two Mountains district in the Montreal Department. He retired from the service in 1839 after two years' furlough, and died in 1858. *H.B.R.S.*, III, 450-1.

<sup>4</sup> McMillan explored energetically west of the mountains, and Simpson's early writings have many references to him: 'well known to every Indian in the Columbia having sent a few of their Friends to the other World for their misdeeds' (1824, Merk, *Fur Trade and Empire*, p. 62); 'my staunch & Manly Friend and Fellow Traveller' (1825, *ibid.*, p. 154); 'there is not the least doubt but he will get on & succeed; yes it is Men of his Stamp the Country wants' (1825: *H.B.R.S.*, III, 450).

<sup>5</sup> In 1830 McMillan, newly arrived at Red River, lamented, 'I dont understand shop keeping'. Glazebrook, *Hargrave Correspondence*, p. 58. Socially and professionally, McMillan seems to have



An excellent Trader, speaks several Indian Languages and is very regular and economical in all his arrangements: a good practical man, better adapted for the executive than the Legislative departments of the business. His plain blunt manner however cannot conceal a vast deal of little highland Pride, and his prejudices are exceedingly strong, but upon the whole he is among the most respectable of his class and a generally useful Man.<sup>1</sup>

No. 21 [Peter Warren Dease]<sup>2</sup> About 45 Years of Age. Very steady in business, an excellent Indian Trader, speaks several of the Languages well and is a man of very correct conduct and Character. Strong, vigorous and capable of going through a good deal of Severe Service but rather indolent, wanting in ambition to distinguish himself by any measure out of the usual course, inactive until roused to exertion and over easy and indulgent to his people which frequently occasions a laxity of discipline, but when his temper gets ruffled he becomes furiously violent. His judgement is sound, his manners are more pleasing and easy than those of many of his Colleagues,<sup>3</sup> and altho' not calculated to make a shining figure may be considered a very respectable Member of the Concern.<sup>4</sup>

found the transition from the Columbia to Red River a trying one. In December 1831 he wrote to Hargrave that though he and his Scottish wife were comfortably housed, '... we go but little about, and of course se[e] but little of the grandees of the Settlement, with the exception of the Govr & Lady who are always the same'. *Ibid.*, p. 85. He left Red River in 1834 under a cloud, complaining in a letter to Hargrave that 'the World cannot produce such a Set of ungrateful Wretches, Their whole [illegible] seems bent on Backbiting and Slander I never heard a good word said of the Absent ...' *Ibid.*, p. 85; PAC, Hargrave Papers, MG 19 A21 (1), pp. 801-2.

<sup>1</sup> James Hargrave shared Simpson's esteem for McMillan, described by him in 1831 as 'an honest, kind hearted, manly fellow, — a character not often found among the every day walks of life; and still more rarely sown in this land'. *Ibid.*, v. 21.

<sup>2</sup> Born at Michilimackinac in 1788, Dease served first the XY Company and then the North West Company until the coalition of 1821, when he became a Chief Trader in the Hudson's Bay Company. Still in the Company's service he was attached to Franklin's second Land Arctic Expedition in 1825-7, after being recommended by Simpson to Franklin in a letter of July 1825 as 'one of our best voyageurs, of a strong robust habit of body, possessing much firmness of mind joined to a great suavity of manner, and who from his experience in the country, and being inured to the hardships and privations incident thereto, would be a most valuable acquisition to the party ...' *H.B.R.S.*, III, 435. In 1828 Dease was appointed Chief Factor, and spent the next years first in the Mackenzie River district and then in New Caledonia.

<sup>3</sup> In April 1832 Charles Ross wrote to Hargrave from McLeods Lake of Dease: 'Our new B-S- [Bourgeois] Mr Dease, I found a most amiable, warm hearted, sociable man — quite free from that haughtiness & reserve, which often characterises those who have little else to recommend them — and if Fortune always favours the Good, he should enjoy an unusual share of her smiles'. Glazebrook, *Hargrave Correspondence*, p. 92. Letitia Hargrave wrote of him: 'I like him much better than any of them, he looks like a gentleman & is pleasing in every respect'. McLeod, *Letters of Letitia Hargrave*, p. 77. According to John McLean, Dease 'played remarkably well on the violin and flute.' Wallace, *McLean's Notes*, p. 147.

<sup>4</sup> There is some irony in Simpson's deprecating remarks about Dease. In 1837-39 he commanded the Arctic expedition with Thomas Simpson which carried out valuable discovery work, brought him a pension from the British government of £100 a year, and helped Pelly on his way to a baronetcy and Simpson to a knighthood. However, there is much evidence that Thomas Simpson rather than Dease was the driving spirit on the expedition, and the former's comments on Dease reflect some of the Governor's here. In January 1838 he wrote to Donald Ross, 'Mr Dease is a very worthy man,



No. 22 [Allan McDonnell]<sup>1</sup> About 54 Years of Age. A Zealous interested useful man who has a good deal of sound good sense with a vein of humour altho' his Education has been defective. Speaks Cree & Saulteaux well, is much liked by Indians and commands respect among his inferiors and equals. Of strict integrity who will not descend to a direct falsehood altho' he can conceal the truth when it suits him, and mislead one by obscure hints & insinuations: irritable and short tempered, but not vindictive and considered a good rather than a clever fellow.<sup>2</sup>

No. 23 [John Lee Lewes]<sup>3</sup> About 42 Years of Age. A very active bustling fellow who is not sparing of personal labour to forward the interests of the concern; Speaks Cree tolerably well and is liked by Servants & Indians. Deficient in point of Education and possesses but a moderate share of judgement & foresight, but his integrity is unquestionable and I have never detected him in a falsehood which is more than I can say of many of his associates: rather extravagant of his own means and not particularly regular or æconomical in business,<sup>4</sup> but

well acquainted with the management of Indians and of an inland establishment, but it is no vanity to say that every thing which requires either planning or execution devolves upon me'. Ross Collection, B.C. Provincial Archives, quoted in *The Beaver*, September 1938, p. 29. In a letter to his brother Alex at about the same time Thomas Simpson described Dease as 'a worthy, indolent, illiterate soul, and moves just as I give the impulse'. Alexander Simpson, *Life and Travels*, p. 276.

<sup>1</sup> Born about 1778, McDonnell served with the XY Company and the North West Company, and in 1816 became a partner in the latter concern. He was much involved in the Red River troubles, and after his arrest by Selkirk was tried at York (Toronto) in 1818. At the coalition of 1821 McDonnell was appointed a Chief Trader in the Hudson's Bay Company, and the next year Simpson described him as 'a steady, moderate man, was attached to the McGillivray interest but now a staunch Hudsons Bay partisan'. (Simpson to Colville dated 20 May 1822: H.B.C. Archives Department file). He served at a number of posts in the Northern and Southern Department, became Chief Factor in 1828, and retired in 1843. His probable date of death was 15 June 1859 (B.134/b/17, fo. 695). *H.B.R.S.*, III, 445-6.

<sup>2</sup> At the time of Simpson's entry McDonnell was in charge of the Timiskaming district, not a very onerous post if John Siveright's references to him in 1829 and 1830 are to be trusted: 'C. F. McDonell has got a snug quiet birth of it at Temiscamingue . . . he . . . [is] much in want of Books, News Papers, to keep the time from hanging too heavy on his hands'. Glazebrook, *Hargrave Correspondence*, pp. 30, 52. Even in his uninhibited correspondence with J. G. McTavish, Simpson invariably spoke well of McDonnell, as in January 1831 when he wrote: 'Our Friend Allan McDonel you will find the most pleasant man to do business with in your quarter it will be proper to meet his demands in full as he will apply for what he requires only and it is highly important to keep his district in its present good order'. B.135/c/2, fo. 56.

<sup>3</sup> Born at Southwark in 1791, the son of a well-known actor and singer of the day, Charles Lee Lewes, Lewes joined the Hudson's Bay Company in 1807 and served it until his retirement in 1853. He commanded a wide range of posts both west and east of the mountains, was appointed Chief Trader in 1821, and Chief Factor in 1830. He died in 1872. *H.B.R.S.*, I, 446-7.

<sup>4</sup> Something of Lewes's character and inclinations are revealed in a letter he wrote to James Hargrave from Cumberland House in 1839 when requesting a trap to be sent to him for fox hunting: 'I ask you to get me these made particularly for my own use, much of my time in the Winter for the sake of Health and exercise I spend roving about and amuse myself with traps'. . . The Council next June it appears' is to be held at Red River and you are to Carriole it there its a long trip, but the fresh air of the Interior will do you no harm it will tend to waft away some of the musty vapours' of the old books' of Inventories, Schemes, Indents &c &c that you have been pondering over all the Winter . . .'. Glazebrook, *Hargrave Correspondence*, pp. 288, 289.

on the whole a useful Man and from his active habits fit for laborious Service.

No. 24 [Roderick McKenzie]<sup>1</sup> About 60 Years of Age. A very honest well meaning warm hearted correct man altho' irritable and short tempered to such a degree that it is unpleasant to do business with him. His Health and constitution broken down and worn out so that his useful Days are over, and it is full time that he should retire from the Service altho' he has not held his present situation exceeding two years;<sup>2</sup> indeed he never was possessed of abilities which could qualify him to fill such a situation with advantage, and he owed his late promotion entirely to the circumstance of his being senior to two Gentlemen who were in Nomination with him and being less objectionable in many points of view, the Compy having had the choice of three very indifferent and in some respects unfit men from among whom it was necessary to fill the vacancy to which he succeeded.

No. 25 [Duncan Finlayson]<sup>3</sup> About 38 Years of Age. A highly upright honourable correct man of good Education and superior abilities to most of his colleagues. Has great influence with and is much liked by his Equals, inferiors and the natives: Speaks Cree, understands accounts, is a good correspondent and is well qualified for the management either

<sup>1</sup> Usually known as Roderick McKenzie (Senior) to distinguish him from Roderick McKenzie (Junior) who died in 1830, McKenzie was born about 1772, joined the North West Company in his twenties, and at the coalition of 1821 became a Chief Trader in the Hudson's Bay Company. In 1830 he was appointed Chief Factor and sent to Ile à la Crosse in charge of the English River district, where he remained until 1850. After two years' furlough he retired from the Company's service in 1852, and died at Red River on 2 January 1859, aged eighty-seven. *H.B.R.S.*, I, 453-4.

<sup>2</sup> McKenzie's letters show this indomitable old man firmly in charge of affairs at Ile à la Crosse despite a crippled leg; as he wrote to James Hargrave in 1839 when explaining why he would not be going to the Council at Red River, 'I can be of more use at my Post, in Trading a Skin; than at the Council, as Legislator I have no great ambition, to shine as an Orator, that I leave to young Gentlemen, better qualified'. Glazebrook, *Hargrave Correspondence*, p. 282. An ironic footnote to Simpson's entry of 1832 is provided by a letter from Simpson to McKenzie (then in his mid-seventies) in July 1846: 'While your health continues good & that, you are able to manage your business well, & from the valuable returns of the district for several years past there has hitherto no reason to find fault with your management, I cannot understand why you wish to retire, especially so, as it does not appear to be your desire to quit the country . . . While you continue healthy & that the business is not irksome and harassing to you, I can see no reason for your retirement — & certainly no one can say you are a burden on the concern while the business under your charge is so profitable & prosperous as it has been ever since the district fell into your hands . . .' D.4/68, p. 231. As late as 1852 McKenzie was writing wistfully to Simpson from Red River that were it not for partial blindness he would return to his old post, which his successor was finding uncongenial — 'Isle à la Crosse is the only place where I have been happy during my long residence of 56 years in the Indian Country'. D.5/33, 22 June 1852.

<sup>3</sup> Born in Scotland about 1796, Finlayson joined the Hudson's Bay Company as a clerk in 1815, became Chief Trader in 1828 and Chief Factor in 1831. He saw service both west and east of the mountains and in 1839 was appointed Governor of Assiniboia. From 1845 to 1855 he held the responsible position of Agent of the Company at Lachine. He retired in 1855, but was shortly afterwards reappointed to Lachine, where he stayed until his final retirement from the fur trade in 1859. He then achieved the rare distinction for an old servant of the Company of a seat on the London Committee (from 1859 to 1862). He married Isobel, sister of Frances Simpson, in 1838, and was an executor of Simpson's will. He died in London on 25 July 1862. *H.B.R.S.*, I, 437-8.

of a Depot or Trading Establishment. Firm Cool and decisive, one of our best Legislators and most effective practical Men, and his private conduct & character are models worthy of imitation;<sup>1</sup> in short, he may be ranked high among the most respectable and efficient men of his class.<sup>2</sup>

## 2ND CLASS<sup>3</sup>

No. 1 [Jacob Corrigan]<sup>4</sup> About 60 Years of Age. A quiet steady common kind of Man, who is merely qualified to follow instructions in the management of a Trading Post; timid, slow and better adapted to obey than to command. Sober & well conducted, more so, however, perhaps through fear of being brought to serious account should he break out than from principle. Has every reason to be well satisfied with the situation he fills and I imagine has no hope of advancement.

No. 2 [Thomas McMurray]<sup>5</sup> A loquacious, frivolous, good tempered sycophant, without steadiness or abilities to bring himself into notice. About 62 Years of Age and nearly worn out. Speaks Cree & Saulteaux tolerably well, but not respected by Indians nor has he any influence with the people under his command and made a butt of by his colleagues and Superiors.<sup>6</sup> Has no prospects of advancement.

<sup>1</sup> Of all the Chief Factors in this period, Finlayson appears to have been the only one never to have taken a country wife; he seems in fact to have been impervious to the charms of Indian and half-breed ladies alike. In 1828 James Hargrave wrote in crudely jocular terms to him: 'And how are you in health my good fellow: better or worse of another season among the Circés of Assiniboia? You are however I ought to recollect as cold of blood as a fish; proof agt. all indecorums — even the vernal season passes over you unthawed'. PAC, Hargrave Papers, MG 19 A21 (1) v.21. In January 1831 Simpson wrote of him to McTavish, 'Finlayson is of a solitary turn of mind and fags at his Shop accounts 16 hours out of the 24'. B.135/c/2, fo. 64d.

<sup>2</sup> Simpson's reports of the 1820s on Finlayson (copied into A.34/1) bear out this favourable impression. The most critical of them is the first one of 1822 in which Finlayson is described as a 'Respectable young man well educated good clerk and trader, looks for promotion thro merit, rather dissatisfied not so respectful to his superiors as he should be, insisted on high terms during opposition'. A.34/1, fo. 24d. It was perhaps this indication of spirit which endeared him to the normally hypercritical Colin Robertson, who wrote in August 1819: 'There is one gentleman of the old school, whom I have a very high opinion of — a Mr D. Finlayson. This young man has fine materials for command, is temperate, easy in his manners, very correct notions of the business, firm in his conduct towards our opponents, whom he perfectly understands, and, to add to his other good qualities, is very susceptible of instruction'. *H.B.R.S.*, II, 105.

<sup>3</sup> That is, Chief Traders.

<sup>4</sup> An Orkneyman, Corrigan had served the Hudson's Bay Company since 1790. He was appointed Chief Trader in 1821, and at the time of Simpson's entry was in charge of the Albany River district where he remained until his retirement in 1840. He died in 1844. *H.B.C. Archives Dept. file.*

<sup>5</sup> McMurray served first the XY Company and then the North West Company, and was much involved in the struggle in Athabasca with the Hudson's Bay Company. He became a Chief Trader at the coalition of 1821, and at the time of Simpson's entry was at Pic, Lake Superior district, where he remained until 1841. After two years furlough he retired in 1843, and died in 1849. *H.B.R.S.*, II, 456.

<sup>6</sup> Frances Simpson has an amusing note on McMurray in her journal of 1830. She met him at Lac la Pluie: 'While Mr. Simpson & Mr. Cameron were transacting business, Mr. McMurray beamed me



No. 3 [Donald McIntosh]<sup>1</sup> About 64 Years of Age. A very poor creature in every sense of the Word, illiterate, weak-minded and laughed at by his Colleagues. Very much offended, that he has not been promoted and complains loudly of the neglect he has experienced in that respect altho' his only claim to advancement is his antiquity. Speaks Saulteaux, is qualified to cheat an Indian, and can make & set a Net which are his principal qualifications; indeed he would have made a better Canoe Man or Fisherman than a 'Partner'. 'Tis high time he should make room for a better Man.<sup>2</sup> He is perfectly Sober and honest.

No. 4 [John Peter Pruden]<sup>3</sup> About 57 Years of Age.<sup>4</sup> A man of good conduct and character and of respectable appearance and manner but weak minded vain & silly without decision in or knowledge of business beyond the simple process of dealing with an Indian across the Counter. Has no command over his people and but little judgement in other respects. Over fond of good living which he makes his principal study, and a fine Beef Steak is sufficient to solace him under the most Severe afflictions.<sup>5</sup> Speaks Cree, and is a tolerable 'Plain Indian' Trader, but by

round the Fort, and Garden: and old & weather beaten as he was, he surpassed all the Gentlemen I had met with in these Wilds, as a Lady's Man; but altho' our walk did not occupy an hour, it quite exhausted all his fine speeches, and the poor man seemed as much relieved when we returned to the house . . . as if he had just been freed from an attack of the Night-Mare'. Nute, 'Journey for Frances', *The Beaver*, March 1954, p. 17.

<sup>1</sup> McIntosh was with the North West Company, certainly from 1806; and was appointed Chief Trader in the Hudson's Bay Company at the coalition of 1821. As Simpson's entry suggests, he had an unremarkable career with the Company, remaining at Fort William from 1830 until he went on furlough in 1838 prior to his retirement in 1840. He died in 1845. *H.B.R.S.*, II, 232-3.

<sup>2</sup> Simpson had shown considerable irritation with McIntosh in 1831 over his sons. One of them, John, was a clerk in the service (see p. 217 *infra*), another, Donald, stood in a somewhat equivocal position, as Simpson explained in a letter to George Keith on 5 January 1831: 'Mr McIntosh I think has done very wrong in keeping his son Donald with him for these few years past, contrary to the assurance he gave me in 1827 or 1828 that he was only with him on a short visit and that he would thereafter return to Canada for the purpose of taking charge of his farm as he was averse to the Indian Trade, instead of which I find he has kept him for several years a burden on the Company's Establishments until he has acquired a knowledge of the business, and this hopeful youth now turns round upon the Company who have so long fed him and says "if you do not choose to make a Clerk of me I shall start in opposition to you". The specimen we have already had of Mr McIntosh's half breed progeny has been so bad that I cannot consent to more than one at a time being in the service . . .'. D.4/18, fos. 29d.-30. To McIntosh, senior, went a blistering letter about Donald's behaviour, concluding: 'I am exceedingly sorry to be under the necessity of replying to this modest threat of his by another, which is, that if he does join in opposition I shall bring forward a motion in Council that you be made to pay to the Fur Trade a handsome allowance for his past Board & Lodging, and a further sum for the instruction he has received in their business, which will go towards meeting the injury he may do us'. *Ibid.*, fo. 26d.

<sup>3</sup> Pruden joined the Hudson's Bay Company in 1791, and was appointed Chief Trader in 1821. At the time of Simpson's entry he was at Carlton House, Saskatchewan, where he remained until his retirement in 1837. He was promoted Chief Factor in 1836. Pruden died at Red River some time between 1866 and 1868. *H.B.R.S.*, I, 461; H.B.C. Archives Dept. file.

<sup>4</sup> In fact, nearer 54; he was born about 1778.

<sup>5</sup> In 1834 the sole reference to Pruden in a letter from John Rowand to James Hargrave was to the effect that ' . . . in November Mr Pruden wrote me that he was starving & no rump stakes'. Glazebrook, *Hargrave Correspondence*, p. 135.

no means bright; attached to old customs, an Enemy to all innovations, easily led away or Cajoled, and when reminded of his own merits which is frequently the case by his colleagues ironically, very much offended that he has not been promoted; but in my opinion ought to consider himself fortunate in having obtained his present situation.

No. 5 [Hugh Faries]<sup>1</sup> About 56 Years of Age. A well conducted steady man, who is liked by Indians is respected by his people and has gone through a great deal of drudgery in the country. Is considered Sensible and clear headed and is of an Independent spirit, but his temper is exceedingly irritable and he is everlastingly grumbling snarling & repining: is a man of strict integrity and is altogether a more respectable fellow than many belonging to the 1st class of the old School, but his day for promotion I think is past, and his prospects are not flattering unless he should accidentally be in nomination with more objectionable candidates.

No. 6 [Angus Cameron]<sup>2</sup> About 48 Years of Age. A very active useful Man and steady, regular and economical in business. Possesses a description of firmness allied to obstinacy but sound of judgement in most things and on the whole, a shrewd sensible correct man who will not do an improper thing nor descend to an untruth: displays excellent management in any business entrusted to his charge, speaks Algonquin, has much influence with Indians and is generally respected: his prejudices are strong, but he is not blinded by them, and would make a respectable Member of our board of Direction to a Seat in which he aspires with fine prospects of success.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Born in Montreal, Faries entered the service of the North West Company in 1804, and became a Chief Trader at the coalition of 1821. At the time of Simpson's entry he was in charge of the Kenogamissi district. Faries was appointed Chief Factor in 1838, retired in 1840, and died in 1852. *H.B.R.S.*, I, 437; Wallace, *Documents Relating to North West Company*, p. 439.

<sup>2</sup> Born about 1782 in Scotland, Cameron joined the North West Company in 1801, and from his post at Fort Timiskaming became a formidable opponent of the Hudson's Bay Company. He was appointed Chief Trader at the coalition of 1821, and spent most of his subsequent service either at the Lake of Two Mountains or at Timiskaming, where he was described by William McGillivray in 1824 as 'the best trader' in the Southern Department. He became a Chief Factor in 1839, a year after Simpson had written to him: 'If you have not been promoted long before now . . . I can assure you on my honor it has been no fault of mine as for several years past I have been more anxious to see you brought forward than any other man in the Country and this has arisen as much from a knowledge of your merits as from my warm personal regard'. Quoted in Elaine Allan Mitchell, 'Sir George Simpson "The Man of Feeling"' in Malvina Bolus, editor, *People and Pelts: Selected Papers of the 2nd North American Fur Trade Conference* (Winnipeg, 1972), p. 90. Cameron retired in 1845 after two years' furlough, and died in Scotland in 1876, the last of the old North West Company partners. *H.B.R.S.*, III, 430-1; *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, X, 114-15.

<sup>3</sup> This entry, complimentary though it is, does not reveal the friendship which was growing between Simpson and Cameron, and which stemmed from Cameron's decision to leave the Hudson's Bay Company in 1826, only to return at Simpson's persuasion in 1827 when he became involved in financial difficulties not of his own making. More than a hundred private letters exist from Simpson to Cameron, and of these Elaine Mitchell has written: 'The Governor's letters to Cameron quickly



No. 7 [Simon McGillivray]<sup>1</sup> About 45 Years of Age. Possesses a good deal of superficial cleverness and is very active but conceited, self sufficient and ridiculously high minded. Very Tyrannical among his people which he calls 'discipline' and more feared than respected by Men & Indians who are constantly in terror either from his Club or his Dirk:<sup>2</sup> Would be a very dignified overbearing man if he was in power; fond of little *convivial* parties and would soon fall into intemperate habits if he had an opportunity of indulging in that way. Has a good deal of the Indian in disposition as well as in blood and appearance, and if promoted would be likely to ride on the top of his commission and assume more than it is either fit or proper he should have an opportunity of doing; in short I think he would make a bad use of the influence he would acquire by promotion. and be a very troublesome man.

No. 8 [John McLeod]<sup>3</sup> About 46 Years of Age. A correct well behaved well Meaning Man, who is always most anxious to discharge the duties with which he is entrusted in a satisfactory manner and would on no consideration do an improper thing. Very firm when he finds it necessary to make a stand; but not bright, on the contrary so confused that it is next to impossible to understand what he means to be at either verbally or on paper. Deficient in point of Education and quite a clown in address and should consider himself fortunate in his present situation which is more valuable than a man of his abilities could reasonably aspire to in any other part of the World.

No. 9 [Alexander Roderick McLeod]<sup>4</sup> About 50 Years of Age. Has

reflect the warm friendship developing between them, founded in the first instance on mutual respect for each other's character and ability, and then immeasurably strengthened by Simpson's staunch support for Cameron in his protracted legal and financial difficulties . . . it seems to have been the Governor's unfailing friendship which, more than any other single factor, finally made a Hudson's Bay man of this particularly recalcitrant Nor'Wester'. Mitchell, *op. cit.*, pp. 85, 88.

<sup>1</sup> A son of the Hon. William McGillivray, Simon McGillivray (often referred to as 'Junior' to distinguish him from his uncle Simon, the important partner in the North West Company) was born in 1790 and joined the North West Company in 1813. In 1821 he became a Chief Trader at the coalition, and at the time of this entry was at Fort Nez Percés. He retired from the service in 1834, but re-entered it in 1836. He died in 1840. *H.B.R.S.*, I, 461.

<sup>2</sup> An assault by McGillivray on an Indian at Fort Nez Percés in January 1832 led to his removal, first to Fort Colville, and then to New Caledonia. Of the incident Simpson wrote to the London Committee in August 1832: 'Mr McGillivray's conduct was not so temperate and guarded in this affair as we could have wished or should have expected from a trader of his experience'. D.4/99, fo. 20.

<sup>3</sup> Not to be confused with another John McLeod who did not become a Chief Trader until 1834, the McLeod described here was born in 1788, joined the Hudson's Bay Company in 1811, was appointed Chief Trader in 1821, and at the time of Simpson's entry was in the Montreal Department where he was to command the St Maurice district from 1833 until his death in 1849. *H.B.R.S.*, I, 455-6.

<sup>4</sup> Born about 1782, McLeod joined the North West Company in 1802, and became a Chief Trader at the coalition of 1821. He had a colourful and controversial career with the Hudson's Bay Company. As early as 1822-23 he was under criticism for 'his preposterous and galling use of authority' in the Mackenzie River district (B.39/b/2, p. 86). From 1826 he led trapping and (in 1828)



been a stout strong active Man; a good pedestrian, an excellent shot, a skilful Canoe Man and a tolerably good Indian Trader, but illiterate self sufficient and arrogant; does not confine himself to plain matter of fact, annoys every one near him with the details of his own exploits; 'I did this' 'I did that' and 'I did the other thing' continually in his mouth, but it unfortunately happens that he rarely does any thing well. Even his physical powers have been greatly over-rated and I have never been able to discover that he possesses beyond the most ordinary mental abilities: yet his own vanity and the partiality of Friends have made him an aspirant to a place in the 1st Class to which in my opinion he has very moderate pretensions as regards merit and if he did succeed in gaining that stand he would be a most overbearing Tyrannical fellow. is capable of little mean tricks and I suspect is fond of a Glass of Grog in private. Would have made an excellent *Guide* altho' he adds little respectability to the 'Fur Trade' as a 'Partner'.<sup>1</sup>

No. 10 [Alexander Fisher]<sup>2</sup> About 45 Years of Age. A trifling

punitive expeditions on the Umpqua River, and in 1829 headed the Company's first trapping expedition to the Sacramento River in California, which ended in disaster. See Doyce B. Nunis, editor, *The Hudson's Bay Company's First Fur Brigade to the Sacramento Valley: Alexander McLeod's 1829 Hunt* (Sacramento, 1968). He was transferred back to the Mackenzie River district in 1831, attached to the Arctic Land Expedition under Captain George Back, R.N., from 1833 to 1835, and appointed a Chief Factor in 1836. He died on 11 June 1840 while on furlough. *H.B.R.S.*, III, 448-50.

<sup>1</sup> Set against the stern criticism of McLeod expressed by his superiors after the incompetence and violence of his expeditions of 1828 and 1829, Simpson's entry is unusually mild. In March 1830 the London Committee informed Simpson that because of recent events, in which McLeod had shown himself 'extremely deficient in energy and in zeal for the common concern' it could not contemplate his promotion to a Chief Factorship (A.6/22, fo. 60). Simpson evidently considered this sufficient punishment, for in July he wrote to John McLoughlin at Fort Vancouver refusing to take further action against McLeod: 'The want of success or rather the misfortunes & evils which have attended that Gentleman's career during the two last years have been the subject of casual & desultory conversation in Council, but I have not brought nor do I intend to bring any formal charges against him, as the difficulties attending a regular investigation of transactions which have taken place at such a distance of time and in such remote situations would require a large body of personal evidence, which it would be quite impossible to collect at this place without subjecting the business to heavy loss & most serious inconvenience'. D.4/17, fo. 27-27d. Even so, McLeod at one time seems to have blamed Simpson for his misfortunes, as shown by a letter of August 1831 from John Stuart at Lake Winnipeg to Nicholas Garry: 'Roderick McLeod has finally left the West side of the Mountain — Though broken in constitution he is still strong and active beyond any other of our Commissioned Gentlemen. His design was in the first instance to appeal to the Council, address the Committee very respectfully (for it is not their honours he conceives that has injured him) through the medium of the publick Press, and to prosecute Governor Simpson for defamation of Character and Damages to the full amount of a Chief Factorship and then whether successful or not, to throw up his Commission of Chief Trader and resort to the Columbia in a different Character from what he had left it — There face the detractors of his fame and character — where it would soon be evident, to all, whether he is deficient in judgement, resolution, or humanity and it was with no small difficulty I got him to desist, but fortunately, perhaps for himself, he remembered the friendship of our Youthful days, and in opposition to his own Judgement he allowed himself to be persuaded and he now goes to McKenzies River . . . his case . . . was commiserated by all, and by no one apparently more so than by Governor Simpson, who manifested towards him every kind attention in his power . . .'. B.4/b/1, fo. 10-10d.

<sup>2</sup> Born about 1783 in Upper Canada, Fisher served first in the North West Company, and then

thoughtless superficial lying creature,<sup>1</sup> who has no Steadiness or consistancy, full of plans which are more Changeable than the Wind: has sufficient address to pass himself off as a sharp fellow with a Stranger, but is entirely an Eye Servant and cannot be entrusted with any business requiring the least management unless closely watched. Can make himself agreeable to Indians until they discover his falsehood which must very soon be the case, as he is totally regardless of truth, in fact, a habitual Liar without conduct or principle, and was becoming so much addicted to Liquor that I found it necessary to remove him a few years ago to one of our most Sober Stations.<sup>2</sup>

No. 11 [Samuel Black]<sup>3</sup> About 52 Years of Age. The strangest man I ever knew. So wary & suspicious that it is scarcely possible to get a direct answer from him on any point, and when he does speak or write on any subject so prolix that it is quite fatiguing to attempt following him.<sup>4</sup> A perfectly honest man and his generosity might be considered indicative of a warmth of heart<sup>5</sup> if he was not known to be a cold blooded fellow who could be guilty of any Cruelty and would be a perfect Tyrant if he had power.<sup>6</sup> Can never forget what he may consider a slight or

entered the Hudson's Bay Company service as a clerk in 1821. He was appointed Chief Trader in 1823, and was in charge of the Montreal Department until 1829, when he was transferred to Fort Alexandria in New Caledonia. He retired in 1845 'in a very dissatisfied and Disappointed Mood' (Glazebrook, *Hargrave Correspondence*, p. 453) after two years' furlough, and died in 1847. *H.B.R.S.*, III, 440.

<sup>1</sup> Cuthbert Cumming wrote of him in 1829: '... he is a man by no means scrupulous in what he says, & cares not what means provided he obtains the end — it is natural to suppose that a man of his vindictive disposition will blacken the character of every man in this District ...'. Glazebrook, *Hargrave Correspondence*, p. 33. In 1830 the Council of the Southern Department under Simpson's chairmanship passed a vote of censure on Fisher and fined him £75 for his part in the abduction from Fort William of a labourer's wife (D.4/97, fo. 73); and the next year Simpson wrote to J. D. Cameron, 'Fisher is the same light thoughtless man he was always was ...' (Cameron Papers: Simpson to Cameron, 16 June 1831).

<sup>2</sup> Fort Alexandria.

<sup>3</sup> Born in Aberdeen in 1780, Black served first the XY Company and then, from 1804, the North West Company in whose ranks he quickly proved to be one of the fiercest and most intimidating opponents of the Hudson's Bay Company. At the coalition of 1821, he was one of the few North Westers rejected by the Hudson's Bay Company, but in 1823 was admitted as a clerk and became a Chief Trader in 1824, the year of his notable exploration of the Finlay River. At the time of Simpson's entry Black was stationed at Kamloops in the Thompson River district where he became Chief Factor in 1837, and was killed by an Indian on 8 February 1841. *H.B.R.S.*, I, 429–30; *H.B.R.S.*, Vol. XVIII, E. E. Rich and A. M. Johnson, editors, *A Journal of A Voyage From Rocky Mountain Portage in Peace River To the Sources of Finlays Branch And North West Ward In Summer 1824* [By Samuel Black] (London, Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1955), *passim*.

<sup>4</sup> Black himself wrote, at the end of his journal of 1824: 'I am aware that the prolixity & profuseness of this Journal will creat unfavourable impressions on the minds of the Gentlemen of Business connected with the Concern ...'. *H.B.R.S.*, XVIII, 212.

<sup>5</sup> Black sent his mother regular sums of money until his death. *Ibid.*, xcvi–viii.

<sup>6</sup> Simpson had first-hand experience of Black's opposition in Athabasca in the winter of 1820–21, where he wrote of the North Wester that 'this Outlaw is so callous to every honourable or manly feeling that it is not unreasonable to suspect him of the blackest acts ...'. *H.B.R.S.*, I, 103. On the other hand, when Black, Ogden and Cuthbert Grant joined the Hudson's Bay Company in 1823



insult, and fancies that every man has a design upon him. Very cool, resolute to desperation, and equal to the cutting of a throat with perfect deliberation: yet his word when he can be brought to the point may be depended on. A Don Quixote in appearance Ghastly, raw boned and lantern jawed, yet strong vigorous and active. Has not the talent of conciliating Indians by whom he is disliked, but who are ever in dread of him, and well they may be so. as he is ever on his guard against them and so suspicious that offensive and defensive preparation seem to be the study of his Life having Dirks, Knives and Loaded Pistols concealed about his Person and in all directions about his Establishment even under his Table cloth at meals and in his Bed. He would be admirably adapted for the Service of the North West coast where the Natives are so treacherous were it not that he cannot agree with his colleagues which renders it necessary to give him a distinct charge. I should be sorry to see a man of such character at our Council board. Tolerably well Educated and most patient and laborious in whatever he sets about, but so tedious that it is impossible to get through business with him.

No. 12 [Peter Skene Ogden]<sup>1</sup> About 45 Years of Age. A keen, sharp off hand fellow of superior abilities to most of his colleagues, very hardy and active and not sparing of his personal labour. Has had the benefit of a good plain Education, both writes and speaks tolerably well, and has the address of a Man who has mixed a good deal in the World. Has been very Wild & thoughtless and is still fond of coarse practical jokes, but with all the appearances of thoughtlessness he is a very cool calculating fellow who is capable of doing any thing to gain his own ends. His ambition knows no bounds and his conduct and actions are not influenced or governed by any good or honourable principle. In fact, I consider him one of the most unprincipled Men in the Indian Country, who would soon get into habits of dissipation if he were not restrained by the fear

their admittance was, Colville wrote to Simpson, 'done in a great measure in consequence of your recommendation'. *H.B.R.S.*, XVIII, xlvii.

<sup>1</sup> Born in Quebec in 1790, Ogden joined the North West Company where like his close friend Samuel Black he achieved an unenviable reputation as a violent opponent of the Hudson's Bay Company. Again like Black, he did not join the enlarged Company until two years after the coalition. He was appointed Chief Trader in 1824, and between that year and 1830 led a magnificent series of expeditions into the Snake Country which traded furs in the teeth of American opposition, and also brought back geographical information of first-class importance. See *H.B.R.S.*, Vol. XIII, E. E. Rich and A. M. Johnson, editors, *Peter Skene Ogden's Snake Country Journals 1824-25 and 1825-26* (London, Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1950); *H.B.R.S.*, Vol. XXIII, K. G. Davies and A. M. Johnson, editors, *Peter Skene Ogden's Snake Country Journal 1826-27* (London, Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1961); *H.B.R.S.*, Vol. XXVIII, Glyndwr Williams, editor, *Peter Skene Ogden's Snake Country Journals 1827-28 and 1828-29* (London, Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1971). From 1830 to 1834 he was in charge of an expedition to establish a post at Nass on the northwest coast. In 1834 he was made a Chief Factor and spent the years 1835 to 1844 in the New Caledonia district. He died at Oregon City on 27 September 1854. On all this see Gloria G. Cline, *Peter Skene Ogden and the Hudson's Bay Company* (Norman, Ok., 1974).



of these operating against his interests, and if he does indulge in that way madness to which he has a predisposition will follow as a matter of course. A man likely to be exceedingly troublesome if advanced to the 1st Class as the Trade is now constituted, but his Services<sup>1</sup> have been so conspicuous for several years past, that I think he has strong claims to advancement.<sup>2</sup>

No. 13 [Cuthbert Cumming]<sup>3</sup> About 48 Years of Age. A plain, blunt straightforward honourable man who would not do an improper thing nor descend to an untruth on any consideration. Sensible, Steady, æconomical as a Trader and altho' not a general man of business, nor a Pen and Ink man,<sup>4</sup> would make a respectable member of our principal board, being a man of Sound principles and of correct conduct and character. Is the best Sauteaux Speaker in the Country, and is respected by Servants and Indians and esteemed by his Colleagues and Superiors.<sup>5</sup> A very fit man to come forward.<sup>6</sup>

No. 14 [Francis Heron]<sup>7</sup> About 46 Years of Age. A plausible man who can write a good Letter and is not deficient of abilities but makes an exceedingly bad use of them. Suspicious, designing and intriguing; seldom or never adheres to truth; lays himself out to sow the seeds of dissension among his acquaintances; Capable of any thing however mean dishonourable or improper to indulge his revenge or to gain a selfish end. Was getting into habits of Drunkenness but found they were likely to injure his prospects of advancement and therefore Changed from a Grog

<sup>1</sup> In the Snake Country.

<sup>2</sup> It is worth comparing this grudging entry on Ogden with Simpson's letter of 1854 to Ogden's brother telling him of Peter's death: 'Out of his own family, few persons I believe knew him so well or esteemed his friendship more highly than myself — our regard for each other had been the growth of years, on my side increasing as I became more & more intimately acquainted with his character and worth: his loss to me is greater than I am well able to express more particularly as I had been looking forward to his early return from Oregon in the hope that for years to come we might enjoy much of each other's Society . . .'. *H.B.R.S.*, XIII, lxxviii–lxxix.

<sup>3</sup> Born in Scotland in 1787, Cumming entered the service of the North West Company in 1804. He joined the Hudson's Bay Company at the time of the coalition, and became a Chief Trader in 1827. At the time of Simpson's entry he was serving at Mingan. Cumming retired in 1846 after two years' furlough, and died on 5 April 1870. Wallace, *Documents Relating to North West Company*, p. 435; H.B.C. Archives Dept. file.

<sup>4</sup> Though, if his letters to James Hargrave are any evidence, an insatiable and serious reader.

<sup>5</sup> In April 1829 John Siveright wrote to Hargrave of him: 'I find your friend Mr Cumming as you represent him. Open friendly & consistant'. Glazebrook, *Hargrave Correspondence*, p. 30. In March 1830 Cumming showed a nice touch of deprecating humour when he wrote to Hargrave from St Maurice: 'I have been for weeks at a bout tackled to snow shoes, dragging my coumbrous & unwieldy Carcas, the best I could through uncommon deep snows and scarcely accessible precipices' — exertions which led to 'not the least apparant decrease or diminution in the projection, protuberance, or prominence (you may take any of the words that please you best) of my paunch . . .'. *Ibid.*, pp. 47–8.

<sup>6</sup> Though he never did, and was still a Chief Trader at his retirement fourteen years after this entry.

<sup>7</sup> Born in Ireland in 1794, Heron joined the Hudson's Bay Company in 1812. He became a Chief Trader in 1828, and at the time of Simpson's entry was at Fort Colville in the Columbia Department. He retired because of ill health in 1839 after four years' furlough, and died in April 1840. *H.B.R.S.*, I, 442.

to a rigid Water Drinker but must sooner or later break through all his Sober resolutions: fancied that an appearance of Sanctity would bring him into notice but if I am at liberty to judge of his Sincerity by his conduct he is a perfect Hypocrite. I believe him capable of anything that is bad and consider him a very unfit man for promotion.<sup>1</sup> In business he is indolent and inactive yet speculative & full of wild theory and in private life he is Gross Sensual and Licentious.

No. 15 [John Siveright]<sup>2</sup> About 50 Years of Age. A poor well behaved little man who is sickly Deaf & Worn out; was promoted to the rank of a Clerk from being a Gentleman's body Servant and to his present situation on account of his Age and infirmity, at least I suppose so, as I am not aware of any other particular claims he could have had: he is regular oeconomic and attentive in the management of the little business entrusted to his care. He shot a man in cold blood a good many years ago and although little is now said about it, he is still looked upon as a Murderer by many of his colleagues,<sup>3</sup> but in that affair I believe he was more influenced by personal fear and want of Nerve than by any worse feeling. The poor man is fitter for an Hospital than the charge of a Trading Establishmt requiring any material exertion. Tis time he should retire.

No. 16 [Robert Miles]<sup>4</sup> About 40 Years of Age. The best Clerk in the Country as regards Penmanship and Knowledge of Accounts, but his Education does not qualify him for any thing beyond the Mechanical

<sup>1</sup> Simpson's comments on Heron in 1822 and 1825 (A.34/1, fo. 21d.) show a pronounced change of emphasis: [1822] 'Highly respectable and deserving man tolerable Clerk and finished Trader most zealous and determined in opposition, never demanded an advance of Salary, qualified in every respect for the situation of a Chief Trader . . .'. [1825] 'This gentleman does not fail to remind me of his claims by every opportunity, he is disappointed and dissatisfied in not being provided for at the Coalition and certainly possesses more merit and stronger claims than many who were . . .'. His refusal in 1829 to follow McLoughlin's instructions caused Simpson to write in July 1830 that after reading Heron's correspondence about the affair, 'we cannot help remarking that the whole tone thereof shews a greater anxiety to study personal convenience & comfort — to discuss the question of rights & wrongs — and to stick to the Letter instead of the Spirit . . .'. D.4/17, fo. 23d.

<sup>2</sup> Born about 1779 in Scotland, Siveright joined first the XY Company and then the North West Company. He entered the service of the Hudson's Bay Company at the coalition of 1821, and became a Chief Trader in 1828. His subsequent career was longer and more useful than Simpson's entry indicates. He was in charge of the Fort Coulouge district from 1823 to 1843, and in 1831 James Keith informed Simpson that the affairs of that district had been managed 'with Mr C. T. Siveright's usual system, regularity and attention' (D.4/125, fo. 39), though in the same year Allan McDonnell at Timiskaming complained sharply of unfair competition from Siveright's men at Fort Coulouge (D.4/125, fo. 67d.). He was appointed Chief Factor in 1846, and retired in 1849 after two years' furlough. He died on 4 September 1856. *H.B.R.S.*, III, 458.

<sup>3</sup> On the other hand that steady man Cuthbert Cumming wrote to James Hargrave in March 1830, 'I felt some regrets on parting with our worthy friend Siveright, he is as you will observe a true Scot — aye and one of Sterling merit to the Bargain'. Glazebrook, *Hargrave Correspondence*, p. 46.

<sup>4</sup> Born in England in 1795, Miles joined the Hudson's Bay Company in 1818, and from 1821 to 1833 was accountant at York Factory. He was made Chief Trader in 1828, Chief Factor in 1844, and after leaving York was in charge of various districts until his retirement in 1861 after a year's furlough. He died in 1870. *H.B.R.S.*, I, 459.

operations of a Counting House; he has had little or no experience in any other branches of the business and his judgement is of no great depth. Very fond of good living and if not kept at his Work would become indolent and devoted to his pot and his pipe. A man of good conduct generally speaking who will not tell a deliberate falsehood nor act improperly; but not so close and confidential as a person in his Situation ought to be, fond of finding fault; full of childish jealousy and ridiculously stiff and stately behind his Desk as also behind his pipe, in short, a wiseacre who would in England be a Pot House Politician.<sup>1</sup>

No. 17 [Colin Campbell]<sup>2</sup> About 45 Years of Age. An Excellent Trader who speaks Several of the Native Languages well, and has the talent of conciliating the Friendship of Indians. Mild and unassuming in his manners, commands respect from his people and is esteemed by his colleagues and superiors; his conduct highly correct and proper, has had the advantage of a plain Education, writes a good hand, is a tolerable accountant and generally speaking a useful man who would make a more respectable figure at the Council Board than many who now occupy seats there.

No. 18 [Alexander McTavish]<sup>3</sup> About 48 Years of Age. A self sufficient would be Wise Man, who claims a vast deal of merit to which he has not the smallest pretension. A sly, smerking, plausible fellow who lies habitually, full of low cunning, suspicion and intrigue; continually laying himself out to rouse suspicions and to create dissensions; indolent, inactive, unhealthy arising from his own indiscretions and very useless. Was a recruiting Sergeant, but more likely to show off on the Parade than in the Field, at least so 'tis thought in this country. Lays claim to a wonderful degree of foresight and exhibits a vast deal of after wisdom, finds fault with every thing and every body with a view to persuade others that he would improve upon the existing state of affairs if he had a voice in

<sup>1</sup> In August 1831 Simpson wrote to McTavish that 'Miles has been pulled down a peg or two, and is not near so great a man as he was last year when I had occasion to haul him over the Coals very unceremoniously and that, in presence of his friend John Stuart and all the Clerks in the Office'. B.135/c/2, fo. 74. In 1833 Thomas Simpson described Miles as 'a good hearted Englishman, very able at his desk but eternally grumbling; and his judgment is no deeper than his inkstand'. Alexander Simpson, *Life and Travels*, p. 83.

<sup>2</sup> Born in Canada about 1787, Campbell joined the North West Company in 1804, and the Hudson's Bay Company at the coalition of 1821. He became Chief Trader in 1828, and at the time of Simpson's entry was serving at Dunvegan. Despite Simpson's praise for him he never moved higher in the Company's ranks although he did not retire until 1853. He died on 9 November 1853. *H.B.R.S.*, I, 432.

<sup>3</sup> Born about 1784, McTavish became a clerk in the North West Company and in 1821 entered the service of the Hudson's Bay Company as a clerk. According to Simpson's brief note on him in 1827 he was 'A very respectable and deserving man a good Clerk and Trader and looks to immediate promotion'; and in 1828 he was made Chief Trader. At the time of this entry he was at Lake Nipigon where he died on 9 December 1832. *H.B.R.S.*, III, 451-2.



the management; but that, he is not likely to have unless an extraordinary change takes place in his habits conduct and character.<sup>1</sup>

No. 19 [Archibald McDonald]<sup>2</sup> About 50 Years of Age. A shrewd, clear headed Man, who Studies his own interests in all things, obsequious in courting favour, but would be overbearing if in power. Rather inactive and 'tis thought does not possess much nerve, but a generally useful Man who will not do any thing really bad nor tell a direct falsehood: fond of conviviality, enjoys a Glass of Grog and I suspect would soon become addicted to Liquor if exposed to temptation and not under restraint. Expresses himself tolerably well on paper and is better informed, and would make a better figure on our Council board than many of his colleagues or even than the majority of those now Seated there.

No. 20 [John Edward Harriott]<sup>3</sup> About 40 Years of Age. A finished Trader. Speaks Cree like a Native and is a great favourite with Indians: has much influence likewise with the people and is generally esteemed by his colleagues. Strong, active and fit for Severe duty. Mild tempered, well disposed, and bears an excellent private character. Came to the Country when quite a Boy so that he is deficient in regard to Education, but in every other respect he is a very effective Man.

No. 21 [Robert Cowie]<sup>4</sup> About 38 Years of Age. Has had the

<sup>1</sup> In January 1831 Simpson wrote to J. G. McTavish that Alexander McTavish was 'the most self sufficient conceited would be Wise man I have yet fallen in with and the most indolent I believe in the country — He writes me this Season a half impertinent flippant scrawl which I have difficulty in deciphering of which I acknowledge rect. altho I do not notice the style. He seems to be losing sight of that foresight with which he ascribed himself so marvelously gifted and I almost begin to regret having interested myself so much in behalf of so ungrateful a man whose only merit appeared to me when doing him a benefit was your esteem'. B.135/c/2, fo. 56. On hearing news of his death, Simpson wrote once more, in May 1833, to J. G. McTavish: '... the Death of Alexr McTavish shocked me more than words can tell altho he was the bitterest Enemy I ever had in the Country & most unaccountably so as instead of ever doing him an injury I verily believe I was more serviceable to him than any other man in Ruperts Land ...'. *Ibid.*, fo. 101d.

<sup>2</sup> Born in Scotland about 1785, McDonald was appointed Clerk and Agent by Lord Selkirk in 1812, and was much involved in the vicissitudes of the Red River Settlement. In 1820 he entered the service of the Hudson's Bay Company, and in 1828 became a Chief Trader. Later that year he accompanied Simpson on his long journey from York Factory to Fort Langley, and on occasion clearly irritated Simpson to judge from the latter's remarks to J. G. McTavish: 'McDonald is full of laugh & small talk, & does not fail to let it be known that he is a partner ... he is ... all jaw & no work ... Archys jokes are become abominably insipid'. B.239/c/1. From 1828 to 1833 McDonald was in charge at Fort Langley, then at Fort Colville. He became a Chief Factor in 1842 — 'more fortunate than most of his friends could have possibly anticipated' (Glazebrook, *Hargrave Correspondence*, p. 411), retired from the fur trade in 1848 after three years furlough, and died on 15 January 1853. *H.B.R.S.*, X, 253–8.

<sup>3</sup> Harriott joined the Hudson's Bay Company in 1809 as a twelve-year-old apprentice, and spent much of his service in the Saskatchewan region. He was appointed Chief Trader in 1829, and Chief Factor in 1846. He retired in 1855 after two years' furlough under threat by Simpson of a public investigation into his 'unfortunate habits of intemperance'. A.12/7, pp. 26–7; *H.B.R.S.*, II, 216–17. He died at Montreal on 7 February 1866.

<sup>4</sup> Born about 1795, Cowie joined the North West Company, probably in 1811, and the Hudson's Bay Company at the coalition of 1821. He became a Chief Trader in 1829, and from 1830 to 1832 was at Portneuf in the Montreal Department handling the considerable opposition from Lampson's

advantage of a plain good Education, is an excellent Clerk, expresses himself well on paper, very laborious at his Desk, is the most finished general man of business in his Class and therefore well adapted for the Management of a Dépôt, but has had no experience as an Indian Trader, nor has he been accustomed to the Severe and laborious duties of the Service. A man of Veracity and integrity but it is thought that he was beginning to acquire habits of dissipation, they are not however confirmed, and now that he is withdrawn from the Society of his late convivial Friends<sup>1</sup> I think he will resume his steady regular habits; if so, he is well qualified to become a useful member of our Council in due time.

No. 22 [Donald Ross]<sup>2</sup> About 40 Years of Age. A very steady regular well behaved man who understands the whole routine of the interior business better than any of his Class from the circumstance of his having been my confidential Clerk and Secty for Seven Years and a most confidential Man I always found him. He writes a good hand expresses himself tolerably well altho' not correctly on paper and understands accounts. Manages Indians & Servants very well, and possesses all the System and regularity necessary for the Charge of a Dépôt<sup>3</sup>; but his constitution has been injured by too much confinement at the Desk; he is moreover rather hippish & fanciful in regard to ailments so that he is not qualified for severe duty. Bears an excellent private character, is quite a man of his word, and qualified to become useful in the direction of the business.<sup>4</sup>

No. 23 [Aemilius Simpson]<sup>5</sup> About 40 Years of Age. A namesake

and other traders in a way which brought him warm approbation from James Keith. Cowie retired in 1846 after two years' furlough, and died on 6 June 1859. Wallace, *Documents Relating to North West Company*, p. 434.

<sup>1</sup> Cowie had just been posted to Fort Vancouver.

<sup>2</sup> Born in the Hebrides about 1797, Ross joined the Hudson's Bay Company in 1816. In 1822 he was described by Simpson as 'A very promising steady young man good clerk, very confidential and useful about counting House and stores but no Trader'. A.34/1, fo. 23. He became Simpson's secretary in 1826, and accompanied him on his journey to the Columbia in 1828. Made Chief Trader in 1829, and Chief Factor in 1839, Ross spent the years 1830 to 1851 in charge of the Norway House district. He died on 19 November 1852. *H.B.R.S.*, III, 453.

<sup>3</sup> In his 1832 report to the London Committee Simpson wrote: 'I shall now conclude my remarks on Norway House and its affairs, by expressing my unqualified satisfaction with the manner in which they are conducted by Chief Trader Ross, a compliment which I have rarely had in my power to pay to any of his predecessors in office there'. D.4/99, fos. 51d.-52.

<sup>4</sup> Simpson kept up a private correspondence with Ross after the latter ceased to be his secretary; these letters are now among the Ross papers in the British Columbia Provincial Archives, Victoria.

<sup>5</sup> Half-brother of Thomas Simpson, the Arctic explorer, Aemilius Simpson was born in Scotland in 1793, went to the same school as George Simpson, and entered the navy in 1806 where he served until the end of the French wars. He joined the Hudson's Bay Company as hydrographer and surveyor in 1826, and was appointed Chief Trader in 1830, when Simpson wrote of him: 'A Naval Lieut of upwards of 20 Years standing on Halfpay. A highly correct man of respectable talents; holds a very important and conspicuous situation, being Superintendent of the Shipping Department on the NW Coast has been employed on very dangerous service ever since he came to the Country



and Relation<sup>1</sup> of my own, whom I should not have introduced to the Fur Trade, had I not known him to be a man of high character and respectable abilities. He has occupied the most dangerous post in the Service since he came to the country, and his whole public and private Conduct and Character have been unexceptionable. [Accounts of his death have reached me since writing this.]<sup>2</sup>

No. 24 [John Work]<sup>3</sup> About 45 Years of Age. A very steady pains taking Man, regular, æconomical and attentive in business, and bears a fair private character. Has been a useful man for many years and must always be so from his persevering steady and regular habits.<sup>4</sup> A queer looking fellow, of Clownish Manners and address, indeed there is a good deal of simplicity approaching to idiocy in his appearance, he is nevertheless a Shrewd Sensible Man, and not deficient in firmness when necessary; was bred an operative Farmer.

No. 25 [William Todd]<sup>5</sup> About 48 Years of Age. Considered skilful has the first claim to promotion, from the situation he fills, nature of the service employed in and the prospects held out to him on entering the service'. A.34/1, fo. 13d. He died at Nass on 2 September 1831. *H.B.R.S.*, III, 454-5; A.36/12, fos. 37-9 (for correct date of his death).

<sup>1</sup> Not a blood relation; after the death of his first wife Aemilius Simpson's father married Mary Simpson, an aunt of George Simpson.

<sup>2</sup> The first mention by the Governor of Aemilius Simpson's death came in a letter to J. G. McTavish, dated York Factory, 19 July 1832: 'You will be sorry to hear that the poor Lieut. is dead from inflammation of the Liver . . .'. B.135/c/2, fo. 86d. By then McLoughlin's letter of 15 March 1832 from Fort Vancouver containing news of the death would have reached Simpson. In a letter to McTavish earlier in the year Simpson wrote of Aemilius that he was 'as good a little fellow as ever breathed, honourable, above board and to the point. He may be a disciplinarian but it was very necessary among the Vagabonds he had to deal with. The Drunken wretched creature Sinclair could afford him no support, he was therefore under the necessity of doing all the dirty work of cuffing & thumping himself . . . I never heard of the scrapes &c &c to which you allude but from what I know of the Lieut. & have heard of him when we were School fellows I have (laying all other claims & feelings aside) a very great respect for his character & high opinion of his worth'. *Ibid.*, fo. 79d.-80.

<sup>3</sup> Born in Ireland in 1792, Work joined the Hudson's Bay Company in 1814. After serving at Severn House, Island Lake House and York Factory, he went to the Columbia in 1823, and spent the rest of his long career west of the mountains. He became a Chief Trader in 1830, and in this period made several important trading and discovery expeditions as Ogden's successor in the Snake Country. In 1834 he succeeded Ogden also in the management of the coastal trade, a task he performed until 1849. In 1846 Work was made Chief Factor, in 1857 he became a member of the first Government and Legislative Council of Vancouver Island, and was still in the Company's service at the time of his death at Victoria on 22 December 1861. *H.B.R.S.*, IV, 356-8.

<sup>4</sup> Work's private letters to Edward Ermatinger show some disenchantment with the Company's service at this time. Characteristic was a remark in a letter to Ermatinger of August 1832 from Fort Vancouver: 'I am tired of this cursed country Ned and becoming more dissatisfied every day with the Measures in it, things dont go fair, I don't think I shall remain long'. PAC, Hargrave Papers, MG. 19, A21 (1), V.3.

<sup>5</sup> Born about 1784 in Ireland, Todd entered the service of the Hudson's Bay Company in 1816 as surgeon, a post invariably combined with trading duties. He served at Cumberland House, Red River, Athabasca, York and on the Columbia. He was made a Chief Trader in 1831 after a strong recommendation from Simpson the previous year: 'Supposed clever in his Medical Capacity Good Trader generally clever, strong claims for promotion the only HB Clerk 1st class, who volunteered for Athabasca during opposition not provided for by a commission'. A.34/1, fo. 42d. He remained in the Company's service until his death on 22 December 1851. *H.B.R.S.*, I, 471-2; H.B.C. Archives Dept. file.



in his profession<sup>1</sup> and a tolerable Indian Trader, but not regular in business, nor is he an active bustling man, and his ignorance of the French and Indian Languages disqualify him for many situations in the Service and of Counting House and Depot business he is quite ignorant. A Man of fair conduct, perfectly honest, and will not tell a direct lie: not much liked by his colleagues who think little of him altho' he has a very good opinion of his own abilities and is really a shrewd Sensible fellow, but wanting in the Manner and address which a man of his Profession might be expected to have. Has a tinge of Radicalism about him, is over fond of a Glass of Grog, and would in the Civilized World be addicted to Pot House conviviality altho' not a Drunkard.

## CLERKS

No. 1 Annance F. N.<sup>2</sup> About 40 Years of Age. 13 Years in the Service. A half breed of the Abiniki Tribe near Quebec; well Educated & has been a Schoolmaster. Is firm with Indians, speaks several of their Languages, walks well, is a good Shot and qualified to lead the life of an Indian whose disposition he possesses in a great degree.<sup>3</sup> Is not worthy of belief even upon Oath and altogether a bad character altho' a useful Man. Can have no prospects of advancement.<sup>4</sup> Attached to the Columbia Deptmt.

No. 2 Allan George.<sup>5</sup> About 22 Years of Age. A Scotchman, slightly

<sup>1</sup> On 10 April 1831 Simpson wrote to J. G. McTavish from Red River: '... the Dr [Todd] has been with us since New Year, there is nothing for him to do at Brandon House while George Setter is there, and Mrs Simpson has stood in need of his constant attendance'. B.135/c/2, fo. 64d.

<sup>2</sup> François Noel Annance joined the North West Company in 1820, and after the coalition became an interpreter and clerk with the Hudson's Bay Company. He spent most of his service west of the mountains, and retired in 1834 after a dispute with John Stuart, Chief Factor at Fort Simpson, Mackenzie River, where Annance was stationed. *H.B.R.S.*, III, 426.

<sup>3</sup> Two earlier entries in A.34/1, fo. 12d. point the way to Simpson's Character Book note on Annance: [1825] 'A cool determined fellow, can act in the capacity of clerk trader or Hunter & just cut out for a new country, can head a warparty, & be the Indian if necessary'; [1830] 'Has been a Schoolmaster an excellent Classical Scholar but flighty & unsteady, talks & writes nonsense and cannot be believed on Oath, an excellent Walker, good shot, firm & savage & a good Trader'.

<sup>4</sup> On the quarrel between Annance and Stuart, Simpson wrote to the latter in July 1834 that 'from the various documents we have perused, the details of which are most disgusting and disgraceful, it would appear that those differences have arisen out of private or family broils, totally unconnected with the public business under our management'. D.4/20, fo. 13d. At the same time Simpson wrote to Annance, informing him that he could retire, or be dismissed on the expiration of his contract in 1835 — 'you have, for some years past, been a most troublesome useless servant to the Honble Company'. *Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> Born about 1819 in Scotland, George Traill Allan joined the Hudson's Bay Company in 1830 as a clerk after receiving advice from William Smith, Secretary of the Company, that the qualifications looked for were a 'sound plain education, and to be well versed in accompts added to which a knowledge of the French language and being able to take surveys of the Country will be found very beneficial'. A.5/9, fo. 24d. Allan spent the winter of 1830-31 at Norway House, and was then

made, delicate in appearance and does not seem well calculated for laborious Service. Tolerably well Educated and appears well disposed, but having been only one year in the Country, I cannot say much about him. Attached to the Columbia Deptmt.

No. 3 Anderson [William].<sup>1</sup> An Englishman. Surgeon at Moose. I have not yet seen him as he only came to the Country last Autumn. I can therefore say little about him.

No. 4 Anderson Robt.<sup>2</sup> An Englishman. Stationed at Moose. Came to the Country last Fall as an Apprentice Clerk, but as I have not yet seen him can say nothing particular about him.

No. 5 Anderson [Alexander Caulfield].<sup>3</sup> An Englishman brother of the Young Man above noticed. Entered the Service in like manner as an Apprentice Clerk last Year and stationed at Montreal. I have not seen him as yet, can therefore say nothing as to his qualifications or Character.

No. 6 Brisbois Chs.<sup>4</sup> A Canadian about 38 years of age, has been 15 Years in the Service. Is a tolerable Trader but not active; deficient in Education and does not speak English:<sup>5</sup> his private character good, but neither his acquirements nor the importance of his services are such as to afford him the least prospect of advancement. Stationed in McKenzies River.

No. 7 Bell John.<sup>6</sup> A Scotchman, about 35 Years of Age, has been

stationed at Fort Vancouver until 1842. He became a Chief Trader in 1847, and retired in 1849. *H.B.R.S.*, VI, 383-4.

<sup>1</sup> William Anderson entered the service in 1831, was appointed surgeon at Moose in 1832, and retired in 1833. *H.B.C. Archives Dept. file; D.5/4, fo. 57*. He was, J. G. McTavish informed James Hargrave from Moose in December 1833, 'a little fellow who came in '31 and getting desperately in Love with Mr Goods daughter of this place, swore he must marry her, when told he could not get permission until his first contract had expired, he wrote Govr Simpson on the subject who replied that if he was really determined to marry, he must first ask me to cancel his agreement & then he might, upon taking his passage to England & the wife along with him, all which ceremony he went through he is a precious useless puppy & I would wish him any where rather than here . . .'. Glazebrook, *Hargrave Correspondence*, pp. 135-6.

<sup>2</sup> James (not Robert) Anderson joined the Hudson's Bay Company in 1831 aged about nineteen; became Chief Trader in 1847, Chief Factor in 1855, and retired in 1864. He died about three years later. He is best known for his joint command of the Arctic expedition of 1855 which found on the Great Fish River further relics of the Franklin expedition.

<sup>3</sup> Like his brother James, Alexander C. Anderson had a substantial career with the Hudson's Bay Company. He became a Chief Trader in 1846, spending most of his time west of the mountains until his retirement in 1854. He died in 1884. *H.B.R.S.*, VI, 384-6.

<sup>4</sup> Charles Brisbois joined the North West Company in 1816, and transferred to the Hudson's Bay Company at the coalition in 1821. Entries in A.34/1, fo. 47d. show that at least twice in the 'twenties the Company was on the point of retiring him. He spent most of his service in the Mackenzie River district, retired in 1842, and died on 13 August 1847. *H.B.R.S.*, III, 429-30.

<sup>5</sup> His post journals and official letters were written in French.

<sup>6</sup> Born about 1799, Bell joined the North West Company in 1818, transferred to the Hudson's Bay Company at the coalition, and spent most of his service from 1824 to 1851 in the Mackenzie River district, where, at the time of this entry, he was in charge of the farthest north of the Company's posts at Fort Good Hope. He carried out important explorations of the Peel River and the country to the westward between 1839 and 1845, was appointed Chief Trader in 1841, retired in 1860 and died in 1868. *H.B.R.S.*, III, 427-8.

13 Years in the Service. Writes a good hand, but his Education has been very limited. A quiet, steady well behaved Man, but wanting in the Manner address necessary to acquire influence over Indians or Servants, and does not possess any qualification likely to bring him into particular notice: equal however to the management of a smaller Trading Post. Not likely to come rapidly forward to an interest in the business. Stationed at McKenzies River.

No. 8 Ballenden John.<sup>1</sup> An Orkneyman. About 24 Years of Age, 3 years in the Service. Well Educated and promises very well. Writes a fair hand and is better adapted for Counting House or Depot business than for the Indian trade being of a delicate constitution. Pleasing in his manners & address and likely to come forward in the Service. Stationed at Fort Garry, Red River.

No. 9 Bouc, C. W.<sup>2</sup> A Canadian about 40 Years of Age, 16 Years in the Service. Useful as a drudge about an Establishment being a stout strong hardy fellow, who can deal with Indians tolerably well, Speaks Saulteaux and is equal to the management of a small outpost: but an illiterate common man who can never expect advancement and is rather overpaid for his Services at £75 p Anm. Stationed at Lac la Pluie.

No. 10 Birnie James.<sup>3</sup> A Scotchman about 35 Years of Age. 14 years in the Service. Useful in the Columbia as he can make himself understood among several of the Tribes and knows the Country well; but not particularly active, nor has he much firmness: deficient in point of Education; a loose talking fellow who seldom considers it necessary to confine himself to the truth.<sup>4</sup> Has no pretension to look forward to advancement indeed is very well paid for his Services at £100 p Annum.

No. 11 Bryson L. M.<sup>5</sup> An Irishman. About 42 years of age 13 Years in the Service. Steady and tolerably well conducted, but not a good Clerk

<sup>1</sup> Born about 1810 in the Orkneys, John Ballenden joined the Hudson's Bay Company in 1829, when he was described by James Hargrave at York as 'a fine modest & intelligent young fellow. . .'. PAC, Reel No. C-80, Hargrave Papers, Series 1, Book No. 5. He became a Chief Trader in 1844, Chief Factor in 1848, retired in 1856 and died on 7 December of the same year. *H.B.R.S.*, III, 426-7.

<sup>2</sup> Charles W. Bouc joined the Hudson's Bay Company in 1816, and from 1817 until his retirement in 1833 was employed in the Lac la Pluie district. His 1824 entry in A.34/1, fo. 30d. shows that he was 'Useful during opposition at Laclapluie was intended to retire this season, but his services were required, the Americans becoming troublesome. . .'. *H.B.R.S.*, III, 429.

<sup>3</sup> Born in Scotland about 1799, James Birnie entered the North West Company in 1818. He served the Hudson's Bay Company after the coalition of 1821 west of the mountains, either in the Columbia Department or in New Caledonia until his retirement in 1846. He died in 1864. *Ibid.*, III, 428-9.

<sup>4</sup> Like Bouc, Birnie was another servant several times on the point of discharge in the 1820s but, as Simpson explained in 1826, 'might be useful to the Americans from his Local knowledge on the W side of the Mountains, therefore retained'. A.34/1, fo. 66d.

<sup>5</sup> Leslie Bryson joined the North West Company in 1819, and the Hudson's Bay Company at the coalition. He received £90 per annum though 'neither good as an Indian Trader or Clerk' according to his 1830 entry in A.34/1, fo. 71d. At the time of this entry he was in charge of Trout Lake in the Timiskaming district, but retired from the service in 1834. H.B.C. Archives Dept. file.



or Trader; does not speak Indian and is not particularly active. Was attached to the Commissariat in the Peninsular War, but I should think in one of the lowest capacities. says he has been a 'Mercht' but was unfortunate: is evidently a fellow who has been accustomed to live from hand to mouth by his Wits. deals in the Marvellous but his fiction is harmless: has no hopes of advancement. Attached to the Temiscamingue Deptmt.

No. 12 Brown Nichs.<sup>1</sup> An Irishman, about 35 years of age, has been 4 Years in the Service: a very sharp active little fellow who conducts himself tolerably well, speaks Algonquin and is useful in Opposition. Deficient in Education, not steady, has changed his Masters very frequently and is considered by us merely a temporary Servant. Was picked up accidentally in Canada and does not look forward to promotion. Stationed in the Grand River.

No. 13 Corcoran Thomas.<sup>2</sup> About 38 years of age, has been 14 years in the Service. An Irishman of limited Education yet writes a fair hand and would be useful about a Depôt. but not so well adapted for the Indian Trade as he does not speak any of the Languages, is not very active and makes but an indifferent Voyager; is nevertheless in charge of a Small Post which he manages very well. Correct in conduct but furiously violent when roused and has little polish about him.<sup>3</sup> Stationed at Albany.

No. 14 Cowie William.<sup>4</sup> A Scotchman about 23 Years of Age. has been 9 years in the Service. A steady well conducted Young Man and a tolerable Indian Trader. Speaks Chippewyan and manages a small Post very well. Rather deficient in regard to Education and not qualified for Counting House business. Was shamefully inveigled 3 years ago into an injudicious Marriage with a half breed Girl by Chief Factor McBain whose relation she was, which is likely to operate against his prospects. Stationed at Lake Huron.

No. 15 Cameron Allan.<sup>5</sup> A Scotch Canadian. About 18 Years of Age.

<sup>1</sup> Nicholas Brown joined the Hudson's Bay Company in 1828, and at the time of this entry was at Lac des Allumettes, where John Siveright wrote of him to Simpson in 1831 — 'As a trader is clever & active, has now the advantage of being pretty well acquainted with this part of the country & of all classes we have to deal with'. D.4/125, fo. 101d. Despite Simpson's reference to him as 'a temporary servant' Brown remained with the Company until 1847. H.B.C. Archives Dept. file.

<sup>2</sup> Thomas Corcoran entered the service of the Hudson's Bay Company in 1818; at the time of this entry he was in charge of the post at Martin Fall in the Albany district. He became a Chief Trader in 1841, retired in 1856, and died at Montreal on 17 April 1865. H.B.C. Archives Dept. file.

<sup>3</sup> Simpson wrote more highly of Corcoran in 1827 when he described him as 'one of the most promising men in the Department'. A.34/1, fo. 81.

<sup>4</sup> William Cowie joined the Hudson's Bay Company in 1822, and was stationed at various posts in the Lake Huron district. He was drowned in the Mississague River in April 1835. H.B.C. Archives Dept. file.

<sup>5</sup> Allan Cameron entered the Company's service in 1830, and served first in the Fort Coulonge district and then in the Lake of Two Mountains district. In 1830 he was appointed to the charge

has been 2 Years in the Service. Promises to become a very stout strapping fellow who will be equal to the most severe duties of the Service, but deficient in regard to Education and therefore cannot look forward to any thing beyond Wages unless his Services become conspicuous. Stationed at the Grand River Montreal Deptmt and was taken into the employ at a time when the Services of a Youngster were immediately required to fill a Vacancy.

No. 16 Deschambeault, George.<sup>1</sup> A Canadian about 27 Years of Age. has been 13 Years in the Service. A well meaning, well disposed, heavy dull slovenly man, who is deficient in Education and can never be particularly useful. Understands a few Words of Cree, has charge of a small Post and does his best to manage it well, which does not require much talent otherwise it would not have been placed in his hands. Can have no pretensions to look forward to advancement.<sup>2</sup> Stationed in English River Deptmt.

No. 17 Douglas James.<sup>3</sup> A Scotch West Indian: About 33 Years of Age, has been 13 Years in the Service. A stout powerful active Man<sup>4</sup> of good conduct and respectable abilities: tolerably well Educated, expresses himself clearly on paper, understands our Counting House business and is an excellent Trader. Well qualified for any Service requiring bodily

of Fort Good Hope in the Mackenzie River district, but retired to Canada the following year. H.B.C. Archives Dept. file.

<sup>1</sup> Born in Quebec about 1801, George Deschambeault joined the Hudson's Bay Company in 1819. At the time of this entry he was stationed at Rapid River in the English River district. He became a Chief Trader in 1847, and died at St Boniface, still in the Company's service, on 27 December 1870. *H.B.R.S.*, III, 436.

<sup>2</sup> The entries for Deschambeault in the 1820s are consistent with this unprepossessing picture. He was described in 1822 as an 'Indolent, stupid Lad', and four years later Simpson wrote opposite his name, 'retained being unwilling to send him adrift in the world'. A.34/1, fo. 20d. John Rowand wrote of him in 1825: 'A soft Lazy indolent Lad and never likely to become useful or active, in short not adapted to the Country'. B.60/e/8, fo. 5d. A different impression is given by John McLean's description of Deschambeault's behaviour in 1844 when a band of nine armed Indians rushed Fort Good Hope on the Mackenzie River and threatened the lives of Deschambeault and his two companions. Confronted with the leader of the Indians, Deschambeault 'instantly sprung upon him, and twisting his arm into his long hair, laid him at his feet, and pointing his dagger at his throat, dared him to utter another word. So sudden and unexpected was this intrepid act, that the rest of the party looked on in silent astonishment, without power to assist their fallen Chief, or revenge his disgrace'. Wallace, *John McLean's Notes*, p. 344.

<sup>3</sup> Born in 1803, James Douglas joined the North West Company in 1819 and the Hudson's Bay Company in 1821. He moved to the Columbia in 1826, and at the time of this entry was accountant under McLoughlin at Fort Vancouver. Thereafter his promotion was rapid: he became Chief Trader in 1834, Chief Factor in 1839, and in the 1840s succeeded McLoughlin as the dominant Company official on the Pacific coast. He was appointed Governor of Vancouver Island in 1851, of British Columbia in 1858, and was knighted in 1863. He retired in 1864, and died on 2 August 1877. *H.B.R.S.*, VII, 309-14; *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, X, 238-49; W. N. Sage, *Sir James Douglas and British Columbia* (University of Toronto Studies, Vol. VI, No. 1, 1930); Dorothy Blakey Smith, *James Douglas: father of British Columbia* (Toronto, 1971).

<sup>4</sup> Later described as 'Slim, but even taller than McLoughlin; his hands reached below his knees'. Louis Labonte, 'Recollections' in *Oregon Historical Quarterly* (Portland, Oregon, 1903), Vol. IV.

exertion, firmness of mind and the exercise of Sound judgement, but furiously violent when roused. Has every reason to look forward to early promotion and is a likely man to fill a place at our Council board in course of time.<sup>1</sup> Stationed in the Columbia Deptmt.

No. 18 Dears Thomas.<sup>2</sup> A Londoner. About 38 Years of Age, has been 15 years in the Service. A flippant, superficial, trifling creature — who lies more frequently than he speaks the truth, can take a Glass of Grog and I strongly suspect is given to pilfering: altogether a low scampish fellow, but active, can make himself useful either at a Trading Post or Depot and has a facility in acquiring a smattering of the Indian Languages. Was picked up in Canada during the opposition when character was not much enquired into and I suspect him a Gentleman's Servant 'out of place'. Attached to the New Caledonia Department, does not afford satisfaction, has been repeatedly on the retiring list but could not be conveniently parted with, will however be dismissed the Service this season or as we sometimes express it be permitted to retire.<sup>3</sup>

No. 19 Davies William.<sup>4</sup> A half breed from the Southern Department. About 24 Years of Age, has been 7 years in the Service; neither a good Clerk nor Trader, trifling, superficial and does not confine himself to the truth. Not a man of any promise and can have no expectation of material advancement. Stationed at Mingan.

No. 20 Delormier George.<sup>5</sup> A Canadian. About 24 Years of Age, has been 2 Years in the Service: illiterate, superficial & trifling: Walks well on Snow Shoes and speaks a little Algonquin having been brought up in the Indian village of Cocknawagan opposite La Chine where his Father is the Government Interpreter. Considered merely a temporary Servant, having

<sup>1</sup> These favourable comments on Douglas are supported by Simpson's notes on him in the 1820s. See A.34/1, fo. 52. Others also thought highly of him in this early part of his long and distinguished career. In April 1826 his future father-in-law William Connolly entered in the Fort St James journal: 'Mr Douglas' salary I consider as inadequate to his merit . . . He has served Six years of apprenticeship under able Masters during which period he acquired a good knowledge of the trade, of the General character of Indians & of the Method observed in Conducting the business — which added to a good Education, sound sense, and a frame of body and of mind able to carry him through any difficulty, qualify him in a high degree, for the service in which he is engaged'. *H.B.R.S.*, VII, 310.

<sup>2</sup> Born in 1797, Thomas Dears joined the Hudson's Bay Company in 1817. He was sent to the Columbia in 1824, and at the time of Simpson's entry was in New Caledonia, where he remained until his retirement in 1836. *H.B.R.S.*, I, 436.

<sup>3</sup> Simpson's opinion of Dears steadily deteriorated in the 1820s. In 1822 he was 'Active, sober and honest deficient in education & no Trader but a good storekeeper . . .'; in 1825 'rather self sufficient & thoughtless'; and in 1830 'Active tolerable Trader but conceited & superficial does not stand well in my opinion, as I have detected him in falsehoods and suspect him of dishonesty'. A.34/1, fo. 19.

<sup>4</sup> Possibly the son of Chief Factor John Davies, William joined the Company in 1825, and died at Portneuf in February 1838, still a clerk. *H.B.C. Archives Dept. file.*

<sup>5</sup> George Delormier joined the Company in 1830 as a temporary clerk, and was engaged during the winter of 1830–31 in charge of the post at Obijuan, 'where he seems not to have afforded the desired satisfaction, having involved himself in troubles with his Men, over whom he possessed little controul'. D.4/125, fo. 40d., Keith to Simpson, 13 April 1831.



been engaged during the opposition for River St Maurice to fill an unexpected Vacancy. Will probably be allowed to retire this year.<sup>1</sup>

No. 21. Erlandson Erland.<sup>2</sup> A Dane. About 42 Years of Age, has been 17 years in the service. Was bred a ship Carpenter in the Dock Yard of Copenhagen and entered the Service as a labourer from one of the Prison Ships at Chatham where he was a Prisoner of War. A steady painstaking well behaved man who has improved himself very much since he came to this country, writes a good hand, expresses himself well in English either Verbally or by Letter for a Foreigner and is a shrewd Sensible Man. Strong, active & useful, liked by his Superiors, esteemed by his Colleagues and respected by Servants and Indians; indeed a superior man in many respects to some of our Councillers, and whom I should like to see promoted in due time as a reward for his meritorious conduct and in order to shew that it is to Character & conduct we principally look in our Elections: but being a Foreigner and raised from the ranks I suspect it will be a difficult matter to get him the number of Votes necessary to put him in Nomination.<sup>3</sup> Stationed at Ungava.

No. 22 Ermatinger Francis.<sup>4</sup> An Englishman about 32 Years of Age; has been 14 Years in the Service. A stout active boisterous fellow who is a tolerable clerk and trader and qualified to be useful where bustle and activity without any great exercise of judgement are necessary. Talks a little at random but will not descend to a deliberate falsehood. Got into disgrace lately in consequence of having employed one of the Company's Servants in cutting off the Ears of an Indian who had had an intrigue with

<sup>1</sup> In fact, he seems already to have left the service at the end of outfit 1830-31.

<sup>2</sup> Born in Copenhagen about 1790, Erlandson joined the Hudson's Bay Company in 1814, became a clerk in outfit 1819-20, and served most of the time until 1830 at Moose and on the Eastmain. At that time Chief Factor Beioley wrote of him that 'considering that he is a foreigner, who on his first coming to the country in 1814 did not know much of the English language has improved himself wonderfully'. *H.B.R.S.*, XXIV, 354. After 1830 Erlandson played a prominent part in opening up the trade of Ungava, and carried out important explorations inland from Fort Chimo. He was given charge of Long Lake in the Lake Superior district in 1841, still a clerk, moved in 1843 to the Pic post, and retired in 1848 because he could obtain no 'promise of a higher step'. *Ibid.*, 362. He died 23 January 1875. *H.B.R.S.*, XXIV, 352-67; *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, X, 272-3.

<sup>3</sup> Simpson's forebodings were borne out by Erlandson's failure to gain promotion. It was a mark of his worth that Erlandson was granted a pension by the Company in 1854 on the grounds, as explained by Simpson, that he was 'a meritorious officer who withdrew 3 or 4 years ago; having entered the service as a labourer and being in easy circumstances, without a family, he hardly falls within the class for whom the pension fund was intended; but as good conduct is as valid a claim for a mark of favor as poverty, often resulting from improvidence, we met his application.' *H.B.R.S.*, XXIV, 363.

<sup>4</sup> A younger brother of the Edward Ermatinger who retired from the Company's service in 1828, Francis was born in 1798 in Portugal, but was educated in England. He joined the Hudson's Bay Company in 1818 at the same time as Edward, and after serving at York moved in 1825 to the Columbia. In 1832 he was given charge of the Flathead trade, and for the next ten years was active in the Snake country. He was appointed Chief Trader in 1841, retired in 1853, and died in 1858. *H.B.R.S.*, II, 212-13.

his Woman, but which would not have been thought so much of, had it been done by himself in the heat of passion or as a punishment for Horse Stealing which is an offence of frequent occurrence at the establishment of which he had charge, the business of which he conducted very well until removed on account of the circumstances alluded to.<sup>1</sup> Attached to the Columbia Department.

No. 23 Finlayson Nichol.<sup>2</sup> A Scotchman, About 38 Years of age who has been 17 Years in the Service. A man of good Education, expresses himself very well on paper, is a good Clerk and Trader and speaks Cree fluently: respectable in conduct and appearance and altogether a Sensible, well informed steady man. I heard about 10 years ago when conviviality was not considered highly objectionable in the Southern Department that he could take a Glass of Grog like many of his Colleagues and some of his Superiors but not even a whisper about it since the Coalition, and I believe him to be a correct sober man. He now fills a very important and difficult situation in the management of the Ungava Expedition for which he is considered well qualified, and he is generally looked upon as having strong claims to immediate promotion.<sup>3</sup>

No. 24 Frazer Thomas.<sup>4</sup> A Scotchman. About 52 Years of Age. Has been 30 Years in the Country. A North Briton, still as raw and unpolished as when he left his Fathers Hut in the Highlands of Scotland. Can Read and Write which is about the extent of his literary acquirements and is a very steady well conducted man who manages his little Post with great regularity and Oeconomy. Has been in the neighbourhood of Temiscamingue ever since he came to the Country and speaks Indian well. A strong hardy fellow who can live where an Indian would Starve, and so careful of his own means that he has saved about £4000 out of his

<sup>1</sup> McLoughlin gave further details of the incident in a letter to Simpson of 16 March 1831: 'Mr. Ermatingers Woman ran away with an Indian last Spring and he sent Leolo the Interpreter after her, and desired him to punish the Indian by culling the tip of his ear, which he did, and though in the civilized world such an act will appear harsh, and on that account it would be preferable, that he had resorted to some other mode of punishment; still if the Indian had not been punished it would have lowered the Whites in their estimation, as among themselves they never allow such an offence to pass unpunished. . . .' D.4/125, fo. 78.

<sup>2</sup> Born in Ross-shire, Nicol Finlayson joined the Hudson's Bay Company in 1815, serving at Albany and various subordinate posts inland until 1830, when he was entrusted by Simpson with the arduous enterprise of establishing a post at Fort Chimo in order to exploit the Ungava trade. He became a Chief Trader in 1833, and remained in charge of the Ungava district until 1836. After an extended furlough Finlayson returned to active fur trade service in 1839, was appointed Chief Factor in 1846, retired in 1855, and died at Nairn in 1877. *H.B.R.S.*, XXIV, 367-78; *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, X, 284.

<sup>3</sup> His Chief Tradership dated from 30 January 1833.

<sup>4</sup> Thomas Fraser entered the service of the North West Company in 1800, and joined the Hudson's Bay Company at the coalition of 1821. At the time of this entry he was in charge of Abitibi in the Moose district, where he remained from 1823 until his death on 31 January 1849. He became a Chief Trader in 1836. *H.B.C. Archives Dept. file.*



Saly since he came to the Country which to a man in his Walk of Life is a fortune.<sup>1</sup> Has no prospect of advancement to a share in the business, but in consideration of his long and faithful Services is allowed a higher Salary than any other Clerk in the service say £150 p Annum.

No. 25 Frazer Paul.<sup>2</sup> A Scotch Canadian. About 35 Years of Age — 13 years in the Country. Was a strong active Man, but for the few past years, his health has been delicate. Rather flighty and does not confine himself to fact.<sup>3</sup> Can make himself understood in Cree, is liked by Indians and manages his Post in Peace River well. Deficient in Education, and his prospects of advancement are very distant.

No. 26 Fisher Henry.<sup>4</sup> A Canadian about 36 Years of Age, has been 16 years in the Country. An active Man who has been long among the plain Indians of the Saskatchewan by whom he is liked. Speaks Cree and is a good Trader, but deficient in Education — speaks English very imperfectly, is rather flighty and unsteady, deals in the Marvellous, would be scampish if not under restraint: is fairly paid for his Services and has no prospects of advancement.

No. 27 Gladman George.<sup>5</sup> A half-breed. About 36 Years of Age, has been 17 years in the Service. Is the principal accountant at Moose Factory, writes a good hand and understands our accounts. Has had no experience as a Trader and knows little about the general business of the Depot. Entertains a very high opinion of himself and would be presuming & forward if permitted. Exceedingly jealous of any little attentions shown his colleagues and disposed to assume authority over juniors: fancies that

<sup>1</sup> Although £4000 seems an extraordinarily large sum of money under the circumstances, Fraser was not the only junior Company servant to save substantial sums from his salary. Erlandson, whose maximum salary from the Company was £100 per annum, had a credit balance with the Company just before his retirement of £1,673. *H.B.R.S.*, XXIV, 364.

<sup>2</sup> Born about 1797, the son of Simon Fraser the explorer, Paul entered the service of the North West Company in 1819. He joined the Hudson's Bay Company at the coalition two years later, and served at Lesser Slave Lake and Fort Vermilion until 1832, when he was put in charge of the McLeod Lake post in New Caledonia. He became Chief Trader in 1844, and was killed in an accident in the Thompson River district on 28 July 1855. *H.B.R.S.*, X, 249–50.

<sup>3</sup> Simpson wrote a critical if mysterious entry on Fraser in 1824, 'Stout active bustling thoughtless fellow fit for any service requiring personal labor or a clean pair of heels not sufficiently steady for charge of a post'; but in 1826 modified this to '... was thoughtless & inconsiderate getting more steady...' A.34/1, fo. 50.

<sup>4</sup> Born about 1800 at Prairie du Chien, Henry Fisher joined the North West Company in 1816, and the Hudson's Bay Company at the coalition of 1821. He was noted for his knowledge of the Piegan Indians; in 1824–5 he persuaded them to travel great distances with their furs to Edmonton House; and in 1832–3 his services were invaluable in helping Chief Trader Harriott to establish a new post, Bow River or Piegan Post, at the headwaters of the Bow River. From 1833 to 1843 he was in charge of Fort Pitt. He became a Chief Trader in 1851, and retired in 1855. *H.B.R.S.*, III, 440–1.

<sup>5</sup> George Gladman, Junior (to distinguish him from his father of the same name who died in 1821) was born about 1799 and joined the Hudson's Bay Company in 1814. At the time of this entry he was still at Moose Factory, where he had served since 1820. He was appointed Chief Trader in 1836, retired in 1846, rejoined the service in 1849, and finally retired in 1853, dying about ten years later. H.B.C. Archives Dept. file.



his time is thrown away in this country, and that he could do much better elsewhere — but I think he has brought his Services to an excellent Market and that he is fully paid for them.<sup>1</sup>

No. 28 Gladman Joseph.<sup>2</sup> A half-breed brother of the before mentioned. About 38 Years of Age, has been 17 years in the Service. A more Steady and I think qualified to be a more generally useful man than the former. Speaks both Cree and Chipaway, understands the management of Indians and conducts the business of the Small Post of New Brunswick very well. Irritable, short tempered and like his Brother, has an excellent opinion of himself, and is very conceited which is a leading characteristic in the half breed race. His Services I should consider well paid for at £100 p Annum in any Country.

No. 29 Good Richd.<sup>3</sup> An Englishman about 55 Years of Age, has been 37 Years in the Country. A poor Drunken useless creature, in whom, no trust or confidence can be placed. Quite a Sot from whom it is impossible to keep Liquor as if he cannot purchase or pilfer it from the Stores, he will obtain it clandestinely through the Servants or Indians. Retained in the Service from a feeling of charity alone, as were he discharged he would either Starve or become a Pauper.<sup>4</sup> Stationed at Moose.

No. 30 Grant Frances.<sup>5</sup> A Scotch Canadian. About 40 Years of Age, has been 14 years in the Service. Attached to Lake Huron District. A steady Man who manages a small trading post tolerably well. Speaks a few Words of Chipeway and can Read & Write. Came into the Country as a Labourer, but promoted to the rank of Clerk on account of his good conduct. Is rather overpaid for his Services at £75 p Annum so that he has no prospect of advancement.

No. 31 Grant Cuthbert.<sup>6</sup> A half breed whose Name must long recall

<sup>1</sup> In September 1830 Gladman wrote to Simpson soliciting an increase in his clerk's salary, which at that time was £100 per annum plus a gratuity of £20. Simpson refused on the grounds that Gladman was already receiving a clerk's maximum salary. D.4/125, fos. 28d.—29d.

<sup>2</sup> Joseph Gladman joined the Hudson's Bay Company in 1814, and at the time of this entry was in charge of New Brunswick in the Moose district. He became Chief Trader in 1847, Chief Factor in 1864, retired in 1868, and died in 1876. H.B.C. Archives Dept. file.

<sup>3</sup> Born in London, Richard Good joined the Hudson's Bay Company in 1796. He was clerk at Moose Factory from 1818 to 1839, retired in 1843, and was granted a pension by the Company of £50 per annum until his death on 30 April 1850. H.B.C. Archives Dept. file.

<sup>4</sup> The A.34/1, fo. 81d. entries for 1827 and 1830 anticipate the severity of these remarks by Simpson. They note that Good's salary was cut from £100 to £50, and dismiss him as 'A poor Indolent man, addicted to Liquor kept thro' charity.'

<sup>5</sup> Francis Grant served with both the North West Company and the Hudson's Bay Company as a canoeman between 1809 and 1821. On rejoining the Hudson's Bay Company at the coalition it was noted that he was 'burdened with a large Family' (A.34/1, fo. 61d.). At the time of this entry he was in charge of the Lake Nipissing post in the Lake Huron district. He retired to Canada in 1837 because of ill health. H.B.C. Archives Dept. file.

<sup>6</sup> Born in 1793, Cuthbert Grant joined the North West Company in 1812, and in 1816 was

to mind some horrible scenes which in former Days took place at Red River Settlement in which he was the principal actor. About 38 Years of Age, during 20 of which he has been more or less connected with the Service. A generous Warm hearted Man who would not have been guilty of the Crimes laid to his charge had he not been drawn into them by designing Men. A very stout powerful fellow of great nerve & resolution but now getting unweildy and inactive. Drinks ardent spirits in large quantities, thinks nothing of a Bottle of Rum at a Sitting but is so well Seasoned that he is seldom intoxicated altho it undermines his constitution rapidly. A sensible clear headed man of good conduct except in reference to the unfortunate habits of intemperance he has fallen into.<sup>1</sup> Entirely under the influence of the Catholic Mission and quite a Bigot. The American Traders have made several liberal offers to him, but he has rejected them all being now a staunch Hudsons Bay man and we allow him a saly of £200 p Annum as 'Warden of the Plains' which is a Sinecure offered him intirely from political motives and not from any feeling of liberality or partiality. This appointment prevents him from interfering with the Trade on his own account which he would otherwise do in all probability; it moreover affords us the benefit of his great influence over the half breeds and Indians of the neighbourhood which is convenient inasmuch as it exempts us from many difficulties with them. He resides at the White Horse Plain about 16 miles up the Assiniboine River where he has a Farm<sup>2</sup> and only visits the Establishment on business or by Invitation;

appointed 'Captain General of all the half-breeds in the country'. Later that year he led a party of *métis* in the massacre at Seven Oaks, was arrested in 1817 by Selkirk, but slipped bail in the summer of 1818. He was not admitted to the Hudson's Bay Company until two years after the coalition of 1821, and then at the direct instigation of Simpson, who had met him in 1822. Grant formally retired from the Company's service in 1824, but remained closely associated with Simpson, and in 1828 was made 'Warden of the Plains' at Red River for the reasons set out by Simpson in this entry. He held the post until 1849; he died at his farm on White Horse Plain on 15 July 1854. *H.B.R.S.*, I, 440; Margaret A. MacLeod and W. L. Morton, *Cuthbert Grant of Grantown* (Toronto, 1963); Chester Martin, *Lord Selkirk's Work in Canada* (Oxford, 1916).

<sup>1</sup> On 21 July 1834 Simpson wrote to the London Committee about the visit of a band of Sioux to Red River: 'This affair assumed a very alarming aspect at one time, through the indiscretion of Cuthbert Grant, who, in a fit of inebriety, galloped, with a party of Saulteaux, into the establishment, and were alone prevented from butchering the Scioux on the spot by the intervention of the Gentlemen of the Establishment, supported by some of the half breeds and the Scotch Settlers . . . on this occasion it was evident that the Scotch had neither forgotten nor forgiven Cuthbert Grant for the part he acted in the lamentable occurrences of the year 1816.' D.4/101, fo. 4-4d. On this incident Mrs MacLeod and Professor Morton, though admitting evidence of excessive drinking by Grant, remark that what appeared to the Company men 'as a foolhardy intervention in a carefully conducted negotiation was most likely meant as a dash to the rescue.' *Grant of Grantown*, p. 116.

<sup>2</sup> John Stuart wrote to Simpson about this aspect of Grant's life in a letter of February 1830: 'I am told that the Warden of the Plains gave a grand entertainment to the Grandees of the Settlement in the early part of the Season, on Saint Andrews day, and to usher in the New Year he gave another to the population of the White Horse plain. He is spending his money very fast — some one persuaded him that nothing, not even, the Sheep walks, could conduce so much to the permanent

but is always ready to obey our commands and is very effective when employed as a constable among the half breeds or Indians. Is perfectly satisfied with what has been done for him which is quite sufficient and has no prospect of advancement.

No. 32 Grant Richard.<sup>1</sup> A Scotch Canadian about 42 Years of Age, has been 17 years in the Service. Writes a tolerable hand but deficient in Education. Can manage the affairs of a small Trading Post very well, but does not speak Indian. Is active and bustling, but not Steady, would Drink if not under constraint, speaks at random and is scampishly inclined.<sup>2</sup> Looks forward with confidence to a Chief Tradership and is well supported by many Factors who feel an interest in him. I have been strongly pressed by several of those Gentlemen for whom I have a great esteem to give him my support, but with every desire to oblige them, I do not feel myself at liberty to recommend his case as yet to the favourable consideration of the Govr & Committee. Stationed in the Saskatchewan Deptmt.

No. 33 Gladman William.<sup>3</sup> A half breed from the Southern Department. About 24 Years of Age; has been about 5 years in the Service. Neither a good Clerk nor Trader trifling unsteady and not useful. Stationed at Mingan.

No. 34 Hardisty Richd.<sup>4</sup> A Scotchman about 40 Years of Age, has been 15 years in the Service. A good Clerk, has had the benefit of a good plain Education. expresses himself well on paper, speaks Cree and is a good Trader. A man of correct conduct and good character and qualified to be useful in any branch of the business. Has every reason to look

prosperity of the Settlement as having a Mill built on the Sturgeon River and without I believe much considering the expences; poor Grant commenced operations and it is now become his hobby Horse — He is certainly a good fellow and it is fortunate for him to have such a friend as the Governor of Rupert's Land — At the same time it is a pity he could not be made to live more within his means — he has great influence and if ever he becomes *needy* he may become a dangerous subject.' B.4/b/1, fo. 5.

<sup>1</sup> Born in Montreal in 1793 or 1794, Richard Grant entered the service of the North West Company in 1816, and joined the Hudson's Bay Company at the coalition of 1821. He served first at York and then in the Saskatchewan district before being posted to the Columbia in 1841. He was appointed Chief Trader in 1836, retired in 1853 after two years furlough, and died on 21 June 1862. *H.B.R.S.*, III, 442.

<sup>2</sup> Simpson had already come to much the same conclusion in 1830 when he criticised Grant as 'wild and thoughtless, would break loose if not kept in good order, in short would be a scamp if he dared.' A.34/1, fo. 58d. A similar impression of Grant is given by Thomas Simpson, who wrote of him in July 1833 as 'a jolly, humorous Scotch Canadian, and quondam officer of militia; likewise, a very experienced trader, but rather scampish, which retards his promotion.' Alexander Simpson, *Life and Travels*, p. 83.

<sup>3</sup> William Gladman joined the Hudson's Bay Company in 1827, and died at Musquarro in the Mingan district in February 1838. H.B.C. Archives Dept. file.

<sup>4</sup> Born about 1792 in London, Hardisty joined the Hudson's Bay Company in 1817, and served at various stations in the Southern Department. He was promoted Chief Trader in 1834, retired in 1861, and died at Montreal on 13 October 1865. H.B.C. Archives Dept. file.



forward with confidence to early promotion.<sup>1</sup> Stationed in Ruperts River Department to the management of which he is equal.

No. 35 Hendry William.<sup>2</sup> An Englishman about 36 Years of Age, has been 6 years in the Service. Is considered skilful in his profession (Medical) and is a correct well behaved Man. Very hardy and active and would be clever at anything to which he could apply himself, but rather whimsical, speculative and unsteady.<sup>3</sup> Does not consider that this country affords a sufficient field for his abilities, and seems disposed to retire from the Service.<sup>4</sup> His prospects of advancement I think would be favourable if he could make up his mind to remain in the Country.<sup>5</sup> Has been 5 years at Moose and 1 at Red River.

No. 36 Hay Alexander.<sup>6</sup> A Scotchman about 21 Years of Age, has been 2 years in the Service. Well Educated, hardy active, pains taking and well disposed: promises to become an excellent Trader and a useful man in the Service. Stationed in the Southern Deptmt and has been the greater part of the two past Winters on Snowshoes.

No. 37 Hutchinson John.<sup>7</sup> A Scotchman about 34 Years of Age, has

<sup>1</sup> In June 1833 Simpson wrote to J. G. McTavish that he was putting forward Hardisty's name, among others, as a candidate for promotion to Chief Trader: 'the last I do not know but from the reports that have reached me of him for many years past I have a high opinion of him.' B.135/c/2, fo. 107.

<sup>2</sup> William Hendry joined the Hudson's Bay Company as surgeon and clerk in 1826. After two years at Moose he made a preliminary overland journey to the mouth of the Koksoak River in 1828 to determine the best location for a post to exploit the Ungava trade. He resumed his duties at Moose until 1831, when he moved to Red River, and then returned to England in 1833. After practising in Hull, Hendry served as medical officer on a Company ship in 1841, but then retired once more to his home in Hull. *H.B.R.S.*, XXIV, 378-83.

<sup>3</sup> Simpson had come to much the same conclusion even before seeing Hendry at close quarters at Red River. His 1827 and 1830 entries in A.34/1, fo. 89d. run: 'No high opinion of his professional or general abilities, he is not yet useful as Clerk; there is however a probability of his improving & as he can take observations will be sent to the Straits with Mr. Lewes next season . . . Rather clever but flighty & whimsical has not sufficient employment in his professional duties to occupy his attention & not sufficiently steady to be otherwise useful.'

<sup>4</sup> In July 1832 Hendry complained from Red River to J. G. McTavish: 'On my arrival here I walked in capacity of surgeon, now being shopkeeper and God knows what subsequently designed to be if I continue here, is sufficient to teach me how little can be depended on in this service.' *H.B.R.S.*, XXIV, 381.

<sup>5</sup> In December 1831 Simpson wrote to James Hargrave of Hendry: '... we have got a very "Rum" fellow of a Dr here now; the strangest compound of Skill, simplicity, Selfishness, extravagance, musical taste and want of courtesy I ever fell in with.' PAC, Hargrave Papers, microfilm reel C-73, Series 1, fo. 378. While at Red River Hendry was involved in a long, drawn-out attempt to marry McTavish's daughter, Mary. On 15 August 1831 Simpson told McTavish of this and warned, 'he is a changeable queer kind of fellow' (B.135/c/2, fo. 73d.). The following July Hendry had still not reached a definite arrangement (and never did), and Simpson wrote in exasperation to McTavish: 'he is the most selfish fellow I ever saw. I do not know whether he is mad or not, but at times I think he is.' *Ibid.*, fo. 86d.

<sup>6</sup> Alexander Hay joined the Company in 1830, and was stationed in the Lake Huron district at the time of this entry. He remained a clerk in the Southern Department until his retirement and return to England in 1841. *H.B.C. Archives Dept. file.*

<sup>7</sup> Born about 1798, John Hutchinson joined the Hudson's Bay Company in 1816, and retired in 1837. *H.B.R.S.*, II, 223-4.

been 16 years in the country. A tolerable Clerk and Trader, but Weak delicate and not adapted for Severe or active Service. 'Twas suspected a few years ago that he was becoming addicted to private tippling; I did not however press an enquiry into the matter as the Young Man in other respects bore a good character and was related to the late Mr Semple of this country,<sup>1</sup> but appointed him to McKenzies River where it is impossible to be otherwise than Sober as no intoxicating liquor of any description has been admitted into that District since the Year 1824. If his Health has not improved during the past winter he will be allowed to go Home this Season for the benefit of Medical advice.<sup>2</sup> His prospects of advancement to an interest in the business are not flattering.

No. 38 Heron James.<sup>3</sup> An Irishman. About 44 Years of Age. Has been 20 years in the Country. A selfish mean lying boasting fellow who has neither the qualifications nor capacity to be useful. disliked by Indians, Servants his colleagues and his Superiors. Deserted from the Hudsons Bay to the North West Service during the opposition without any reason that could afford the shadow of justification for such a breach of faith and duty, and has conducted himself in a most disrespectful unbecoming and improper manner of late to Chief Factor Alexander Stewart under whose direction he was situated in Athabasca. 'Tis probable he will be allowed to retire this Season or in other words be discharged from the Service which will be no loss as he is a most dissatisfied grumbling useless man as can be found in any country.<sup>4</sup>

No. 39 Hughes James.<sup>5</sup> An English Canadian about 64 Years of Age. Was a Clerk and Partner in the country previous to the late coalition during a term of about 35 years and has for the 10 past years been resident in Canada during which time he spent his all about £10,000 and was as

<sup>1</sup> He was a nephew of Governor Robert Semple. Hutchinson had obviously not impressed Simpson at any stage of his service. In 1822 Simpson noted that he 'requires a strict Master to brush him up', and in 1826 summed him up with the dismissive comment, 'his abilities being rather beneath mediocrity'. A.34/1, fo. 34d.

<sup>2</sup> In the autumn of 1834 he returned to England on a year's leave of absence because of ill health.

<sup>3</sup> Born in Ireland in 1794, James Heron entered the service of the Hudson's Bay Company in 1812, but deserted to the North West Company in 1815. After the coalition he again joined the Hudson's Bay Company, retired in 1831, but re-entered the Company's service in 1839 until 1845. He was a brother of Chief Trader Francis Heron. *H.B.R.S.*, I, 442-3.

<sup>4</sup> Little of this catalogue of sins found its way into Simpson's earlier reports. The fullest entry on him was in 1830: 'Deserted from HBCo. to the NW Service during the opposition since that time nothing particularly can be said for or against him in regard either to conduct or capacity, likely to leave the service & make room for a better man.' A.34/1, fo. 52d.

<sup>5</sup> Born in Montreal in 1772, James Hughes joined the North West Company in about 1791, retired from the fur trade in 1821, but in 1830 was engaged as a clerk by the Hudson's Bay Company though nearly sixty years old. He was then in 'indigent circumstances and destitute situation' (D.4/97, fo. 66d.). After a year in charge of Brandon House and another at Fort Ellice he retired in 1833, but lived another twenty years. He was killed in an accident on 13 July 1853. Wallace, *Documents relating to North West Company*, pp. 458-9.



an act of Charity received by the Honable Company into the Service last year as a Clerk at £100 p Anm but without the prospect of advancement.<sup>1</sup> A generous, kind hearted genteel amusing little Man who is a favourite with all classes from Indians upwards. More active than some of our Apprentice Clerks, perfectly correct in conduct altho he draws a harmless long bow; still qualified for a charge requiring great address and good management among the Plain Indians. in short a first rate Indian Trader, but not a general man of business.

No. 40 Hargrave James.<sup>2</sup> A Scotchman about 32 Years of Age, has been 12 years in the Service. A man of good Education and of highly correct conduct and character and very useful. Expresses himself well either Verbally or on paper, is clear headed and possesses a better Knowledge of general business than might be expected from the advantages he has had. Equal to the management of York Depôt and is better qualified for a Seat in Council than 9 out of 10 of our present Chief Factors.<sup>3</sup> Has every reason to calculate on early promotion and may in due time reach the board of Green Cloth if he goes on as he promises: he has not however had any experience in the Indian Trade, can speak none of the Native Languages, his Health is not very good and his temper is rather Sour. Stationed at York Factory.

No. 41 Harding Robt.<sup>4</sup> An Englishman. About 33 Years of Age: has been 13 years in the Service. A regular systematic little man who manages

<sup>1</sup> This move was prompted by Simpson, as his letter to J. G. McTavish of 3 January 1831 shows: 'I do not recollect if I mentioned to you what we had done about Hughes — finding that a mere trifle could only be collected for him by subscription I recommended that he should be offered a Clerkship in the service . . . the committee I think will not object to it.' B.135/c/2, fo. 55. Later in the year Simpson reported further to McTavish: 'Little Hughes is here as playful as a Boy and happy beyond measure: is delighted with Red River. . . .' *Ibid.*, fo. 73d.

<sup>2</sup> Born in Scotland in 1798, James Hargrave joined the North West Company in 1820, and entered the service of the Hudson's Bay Company at the coalition the next year. He spent most of his service at York Factory, where he developed a wide range of correspondents from among the Company's officers as far afield as the Columbia. His correspondence, an invaluable source for the personalities of the fur trade in the second quarter of the nineteenth century, is in the Public Archives of Canada; a selection from it was published by the Champlain Society in 1938. Hargrave became a Chief Trader in 1833, Chief Factor in 1844; he retired in 1858 and died in 1865.

<sup>3</sup> Simpson said as much to Hargrave himself; in June 1833 he wrote, 'Your Character is well known in the Country and at Home your Worth and merits are still better known . . . rest assured that you will soon occupy a Seat at that Board where I have long ago predicted you would one day cut a conspicuous figure.' PAC, Hargrave Papers, microfilm reel C-73, Series 1, fo. 584. Simpson's own private correspondence with Hargrave was of recent origin; it was in December 1831 that the Governor wrote to Hargrave, then still a clerk, 'opening and Inviting you to a regular correspondence, from which I feel assured I shall derive both pleasure and instruction . . . .' *Ibid.*, fo. 376. In 1833 that astringent judge of his fellow men, Thomas Simpson, wrote of Hargrave: 'a good, able, deep-thinking, and deeply-read Scotchman from the banks of the Tweed — my most intimate friend in the country, and likely to become a very leading man.' Alexander Simpson, *Life and Travels*, p. 83.

<sup>4</sup> Born in Essex in 1801, Harding joined the Hudson's Bay Company as a clerk in 1819, served at Swan River, Churchill and Great Slave Lake before being appointed to the charge of Churchill in 1826, a position he held until his retirement in 1845. H.B.C. Archives Dept. file.



the business of his Post very well; keeps his accounts neatly and gives a satisfactory report of his operations from Year to Year but is very irritable and short tempered and disposed to over indulge his partialities and prejudices. Very fierce in his own little way, carries Pistols and endeavours to give his voice a gruf Tone by way of making the Man. Diminutive and Lamé of a hand by the bursting of a Gun.<sup>1</sup> Sufficiently, or rather overpaid for his Services at £100 p Annum. Stationed at Churchill.<sup>2</sup>

No. 42 Hamel Antoine.<sup>3</sup> A Canadian about 30 Years of Age — 4 Years in the Service. A stout strong illiterate common kind of fellow who was employed during the opposition in River St Maurice chiefly because he could walk well on Snow Shoes and had the name of being a tolerable bruiser. Can drink, tell lies and Swear. Will be discharged when his Engagement expires as we have no occasion for men of his stamp in peaceable times.

No. 43 Killock James.<sup>4</sup> A Scotchman. About 40 Years of Age, has been about 20 years in the Service. An active useful man in charge of a small post. Speaks Cree and keeps his accounts tolerably well. but possesses no particular recommendatory qualifications, on the contrary, likes a glass of grog yet does not get Drunk because he carries it well; would nevertheless I understand be addicted to it if not under restraint. it would be highly inexpedient to allow such Men possess an interest in the business.<sup>5</sup>

No. 44 Kennedy John.<sup>6</sup> A half breed Native of Cumberland, about 26 Years of Age, has been 3 years in the Service in the capacity of surgeon at the Columbia. I know so little of this Young Man as yet that I cannot

<sup>1</sup> During the winter of 1825-6. In 1824 Simpson noted of him, 'Industrious & pain staking good clerk and trader, but his diminutive size & appearance agst. him.' A.34/1, fo. 36.

<sup>2</sup> A glimpse of Harding at Churchill at this time comes in a letter from Edmund Smith, surgeon of a Company vessel forced to winter at the post during the winter of 1833-4, who wrote: '... here I may find the boon I have long sought — health — but in corpore sano I may lose mens sana, not that Mr. Harding has not a well assorted library or that he is not a man of information but you must be aware how racked his brain is, has been, and will be with the affairs of the ship ... you know Mr. Harding too well to suppose that he does not & will not do all in his power to entertain us & render our stay here agreeable. ...' Glazebrook, *Hargrave Correspondence*, pp. 117-18.

<sup>3</sup> Antoine Hamel joined the Company in 1828, and left at the end of outfit 1830-1 on the expiry of his contract.

<sup>4</sup> James Kellock was born in Scotland in 1794, and entered the service of the Hudson's Bay Company in 1811. At the time of this entry he was in charge of Waswanapi in the Rupert River district. He was drowned at Michiskan on 5 June 1836. H.B.C. Archives Dept. file.

<sup>5</sup> Simpson's earlier entries harped on Kellock's drinking habits: 1824, 'purchases Liquor annually but cannot be charged with Inebriety'; 1827, 'fond of a stiff glass of Grog, which he says he takes medicinally. ...' A.34/1, fo. 74d.

<sup>6</sup> Born in 1805, eldest son of Chief Factor Alexander Kennedy, John was educated in Scotland and obtained a medical degree at Edinburgh. Most of his service was spent at Fort Simpson (Nass), but he also managed other posts on the northwest coast. He was appointed Chief Trader in 1847, was retired in 1856 because of his 'habits of intemperance', and died on 3 April 1859. *H.B.R.S.*, IV, 346.

speak either in regard to his character or abilities: if he turns out well however, I shall be agreeably surprised as it is a lamentable fact that very few of his breed have hitherto conducted themselves with propriety.<sup>1</sup>

No. 45 Kittson William.<sup>2</sup> A Canadian. About 40 Years of Age and 14 in the Service. A sharp, dapper, short tempered, self sufficient petulant little fellow of very limited Education, but exceedingly active and ambitious to signalize himself.<sup>3</sup> Speaks Coutonais and has a smattering of several other Languages spoken on the West of the Mountains. Conducts the business of his Post very well, and is useful in many respects, but fully if not overpaid for his Services at £100 p Annum. Stationed in the Columbia Deptmt.

No. 46 Linton George.<sup>4</sup> An Englishman (Londoner) about 36 Years of Age, has been 13 years in the Country. A stout strong square built fellow who would have made a very good figure in the 'Prize Ring' being an excellent bruiser; has a good deal of the Manner of a man accustomed to live by his Wits, and I suspect is out of a bad nest. A low Knowing Kind of fellow who is neither a good Clerk nor Trader. useful however in many respects, but fully paid at £100 p Annum. Has no prospect of advancement.

No. 47 Lane W. F.<sup>5</sup> An Irishman about 38 Years of Age has been off and on in the Service during the past 13 years. A low Drunken Worthless fellow who came originally to the Country during the opposition as a constable. Was dismissed the Service about 9 years ago and taken on again 5 years ago as he was troublesome to us in the Grand River Opposition. Is very active and can turn his hand to any thing but such a blackguard that he disgraces the Service he will therefore be discharged this Season. Now at Lac du Sable Montreal Deptmt. [It was not considered politic to discharge this man lest he might give us trouble in opposition

<sup>1</sup> Simpson's 1830 entry has more on this: 'Country & Color disqualify him for his situation as neither Gentlemen Servants nor Natives will have confidence in or respect for him.' A.34/1, fo. 15. On the other hand McLoughlin wrote to Simpson in September 1832 that he found Kennedy 'most careful and attentive and anxious to give satisfaction . . . he is qualified also to act as trader, store-keeper, or accountant.' B.223/b/8, fo. 16d.

<sup>2</sup> A 2nd Lieutenant in the Canadian *Voltigeurs* who served in the War of 1812, William Kittson joined the North West Company in 1817, and the Hudson's Bay Company at the coalition of 1821. At the time of this entry he was in charge of the Kootenay post, and from 1834 to 1840 was in command at Fort Nisqually. He died on 25 December 1841. *H.B.R.S.*, III, 443.

<sup>3</sup> Simpson noted of him in 1825 that he 'will face anything in the shape of danger' (A.34/1, p. 110). His Snake Country journal for 1824-5 is printed in *H.B.R.S.*, XIII, Appendix A.

<sup>4</sup> Born in 1800, George Linton joined the North West Company in 1819 and the Hudson's Bay Company at the coalition two years later. At the time of this entry he was stationed in New Caledonia; he died through drowning on 8 November 1835. *H.B.R.S.*, I, 447.

<sup>5</sup> Born about 1794, William Lane joined the North West Company in 1820, the Hudson's Bay Company the next year. He was dismissed in 1824, but rejoined the Company in 1829 and remained in its employ until 1863 when he retired, still a clerk, and was granted a pension of £50 per annum in consideration of his 'lengthened services'. *H.B.R.S.*, II, 229-30; H.B.C. Archives Dept. file.

he has therefore been removed to New Caledonia this Season where he cannot be otherwise than sober.]

No. 48 McPherson Andw.<sup>1</sup> A Scotchman about 50 Years of Age, has been 27 years in the Service. A self-sufficient, useless Man of poor abilities and little Education, but from his long experience in the Temiscamingue Department and his Knowledge of the Indians in that quarter whose Languages he speaks fluently and over whom he has a good deal of influence, would be troublesome to us if in the hands of opposition, is therefore retained although greatly overpaid for his Services at £135 p Annum. Has no chance of promotion.

No. 49 McIntosh John.<sup>2</sup> A half breed of the Chippaway Nation. About 34 Years of Age has been 14 years in the Service. A stout strong low blackguard lying fellow, who is retained in the Service to prevent his being troublesome to us in Opposition on the shores of Lake Superior where he was born and brought up, and related to many of the Indians in that quarter. Stationed in Lake Superior Deptmt.

No. 50 McKay Donald.<sup>3</sup> A Temiscamingue half breed about 40 Years of Age, has been 21 years in the Service. An active useful Man at Kenigumissie, to the Indians of which place he is related and with whom he has much influence. Would be very troublesome if in the hands of opposition and therefore retained in the Service altho not steady fond of Liquor and given to falsehood.<sup>4</sup> Stationed at Kennigumissie.

No. 51 McKay Edward.<sup>5</sup> A half breed from the Southern Shores of

<sup>1</sup> Born in 1783, Andrew McPherson joined the North West Company in 1805 and the Hudson's Bay Company at the coalition of 1821. At the time of this entry he was in charge of Grand Lac in the Timiskaming district. He retired in 1842, was granted a pension of £50 per annum in 1844, and died in 1847. H.B.C. Archives Dept. file.

<sup>2</sup> The son of Chief Trader Donald McIntosh, John joined the Hudson's Bay Company in 1821. He was transferred from the Lake Superior district to the Northern Department in 1833, and in 1835 was sent to the Columbia. McIntosh was killed by a Sekania Indian in New Caledonia on 8 July 1844 — perhaps just retribution, for McIntosh can be identified as the older and more experienced of the two Company clerks involved in the slaughter of a party of Assiniboine Indians in the winter of 1835–6. See W. S. Wallace, editor, *John McLean's Notes of a Twenty-five Years Service in the Hudson's Bay Territory* (Toronto, Champlain Society, 1932), pp. 324–5; H.B.C. Archives Dept. file.

<sup>3</sup> Donald McKay seems to have joined the North West Company in 1807; he entered the service of the Hudson's Bay Company in 1821, and at the time of this entry was in charge of Kuckatoosh (Flying Post) in the Kenogamissee district. He retired in 1836. H.B.C. Archives Dept. file.

<sup>4</sup> In his general report to the London Committee in August 1832 Simpson elaborated on the problem: 'This man is half breed, born and brought up in the District, was educated in Canada, is supposed to be fond of Liquor, has a very good opinion of himself, as most of his countrymen have, and thinks he could do better on his own account than in his present situation, in short is dissatisfied, and seems disposed to hold out for terms, which it would hardly be fair in justice to others of greater merit to give, and the consequence I suspect will be, that he will oppose us, and a troublesome opponent he will be, as he knows the whole country well, is related to the principal Indians in the District, and is a very active bustling fellow. In order to guard against this in a certain degree, I have authorized Mr. Faries to make a proposition to him . . . which I should not have done in any other circumstances.' D.4/99, fo. 32d.

<sup>5</sup> Born in 1795, Edward McKay joined the Hudon's Bay Company in 1815, deserted to the North



the Bay, About 35 Years of Age has been 17 years in the Service. Unsteady and of indifferent character. Was a deserter from the Hudson's Bay to the North West Coy during opposition and now retained in the Service to keep him out of the hands of Petty Traders: but like many of his breed would be discharged if we were not apprehensive that he would in that case give us trouble. Stationed at Lake Huron.

No. 52 McKay Wm.<sup>1</sup> A half breed. Brother of the above noticed. About 42 Years of Age 21 years in the Service. Nothing respectable about him either in conduct of character, and neither active nor useful — but retained in the Service to prevent his being troublesome to us.<sup>2</sup> Stationed at Ruperts River. Nine out of Ten of those half breeds are little better than Interpreters, deficient in Education — bearing indifferent Characters and having no claim to a prospect of advancement.

No. 53 McKenzie Charles.<sup>3</sup> A Scotchman about 56 Years of Age. 29 Years in the Service. A queer prosing long Winded little highland body, who traces his lineage back to Ossian and claims the Laureatship of Albany District now that Chief Factor Kennedy is gone. Never was a bright active or useful man even when there was a greater Dearth of talent in the country than now, but fancies himself neglected in being still left on the list of Clerks notwithstanding a Servitude of nearly 30 years: his Day is gone by, and I think it would be highly inexpedient to promote such men who have no other claim to advancement than their antiquity.<sup>4</sup> Stationed in Albany District.

No. 54 McKenzie Peter.<sup>5</sup> A Scotchman about 27 Years of Age has

West Company, and then rejoined the Hudson's Bay Company in 1822. At the time of this entry he was in charge at Isle au Sable; he retired in 1833.

<sup>1</sup> Born at Albany Factory about 1793, William McKay joined the Hudson's Bay Company in 1809. In 1832 he was appointed to the charge of Mistassini, where he remained until his retirement to Red River in 1857. He died on 12 March 1864. H.B.C. Archives Dept. file.

<sup>2</sup> Simpson's notes before 1830 contain little of this: 1823, 'excellent young man, active sober extremely willing'; 1825, 'very anxious in the performance of his duty'; 1827, 'steady, sober man'; but 1830, 'Indolent and deficient in education'. A.34/1, fo. 76.

<sup>3</sup> Born in Scotland in 1774, Charles McKenzie entered the service of the North West Company in 1803, and joined the Hudson's Bay Company as a clerk at the coalition of 1821. From 1827 until his retirement (still a clerk) in 1854 he was in charge of Lac Seul in the Albany district. He died at Red River on 3 March 1855. Wallace, *Documents relating to North West Company*, p. 476; H.B.C. Archives Dept. file.

<sup>4</sup> These critical references first appear in 1827, when Simpson noted: '... his best days are gone and altho' he may some years ago have looked for promotion in the NW service, he is in no respect to be compared to any of the present expectants. ...' A.34/1, fo. 73. McKenzie indulged in some disarming self-criticism in his report from Lac Seul for the 1830-1 season: '... the most that can be said of my capacity is "*Mediocrity*" — I do not wish to take people by surprize. I have weighed my own merits with impartiality and I know I am deficient of what others possess — but in recompense I possess qualities tho' less bright, may not have been less necessary to carry on our pursuits in this Country — I thank heaven for three ingredients in my composition in particular. — Reverence to my God — integrity to my employers and good will to my fellow creatures.' B.107/e/4, fo. 6.

<sup>5</sup> Peter McKenzie joined the Hudson's Bay Company in 1825, and was appointed to the charge of

been 7 years in the Service. A very strong steady well behaved Man who has not had the advantage of a good Education and is rather dull. In delicate health and suffers much from Rheumatism, but is equal to the management of a Small Post, makes himself understood in Chippeway and is liked by the Natives. Can never look forward to an interest in the business. Stationed in Lake Superior District.

No. 55 McKenzie Rodk.<sup>1</sup> A half breed born and brought up in the Nipigon District. About 28 Years of Age, 10 Years in the Service. Tolerably steady considering his breed, but a man of poor abilities and of very limited Education, yet equal to the management of a small Post. His Services can never be worth more than £60 to £70 p Annum. Attached to Albany District.

No. 56 McKay Alexr. Wm.<sup>2</sup> A half breed of the Chippeway Nation about 30 Years of Age, has been 10 years in the Service. A sour sulky ill looking raw boned fellow of whom I have a very poor opinion.<sup>3</sup> Confines himself to truth only when it suits him, and is rather scampishly inclined. Chippeway is his Mother tongue, he therefore speaks it well, and manages a small Trading Post satisfactorily. Has a very good opinion of himself, is grumbling and dissatisfied and will probably be allowed to make the discovery that he cannot mend his Fortune by a change of Masters.<sup>4</sup> Attached to Lake Huron District.

No. 57 McDougald George.<sup>5</sup> A Scotch Canadian. About 45 Years of Age, has been 17 years in the Service. A sly knowing low Vagabond who Drinks, lies, and I dare say Steals. Was an auctioneer in Montreal but

Long Lake in the Lake Superior district in 1832. He was promoted to Chief Trader in 1844, and died at Moose Factory on 31 January 1852. H.B.C. Archives Dept. file.

<sup>1</sup> Known as Roderick McKenzie 'B' to distinguish him from Roderick McKenzie 'A' who died in 1830, McKenzie entered the service of the North West Company in 1818, and joined the Hudson's Bay Company in 1821. At the time of this entry he was in charge of Sturgeon Lake in the Albany district. He was dismissed from the service in 1845 because of 'inefficient management . . . and other irregular behaviour', and retired to Montreal. Wallace, *Documents relating to North West Company*, p. 479; H.B.C. Archives Dept. file.

<sup>2</sup> Born in 1801, Alexander McKay joined the Company in 1823, and served until his retirement in 1843 at various posts in the Lake Huron district. In 1836 he left the service to join some opposition traders, but returned in 1837 at his old salary.

<sup>3</sup> Other reports spoke more highly of him — for example, for the 1834–5 season when he was in charge at Whitefish Lake: ' . . . a good Trader, well respected by the Indians and a good economist — in short he is a very useful clerk.' B.109/e/7, fo. 2.

<sup>4</sup> Just after McKay retired in 1843 J. D. Cameron saw him at La Cloche, and reported to Simpson: 'On asking him if he was still determined on leaving the service — he answered he was — that he could not be worse elsewhere — To his extreme Mortification and disappointment I said no more to him on the subject. The man was under an impression that the Company would give £150 a year rather than risk driving him into opposition.' D.5/8, fo. 354.

<sup>5</sup> George McDougall entered the service of the Hudson's Bay Company in 1815, but joined the North West Company the next year. He became a clerk with the Hudson's Bay Company once more at the coalition of 1821, and at the time of this entry was in charge at Lesser Slave Lake. He retired in 1849, still a clerk, and died before the end of 1850. *H.B.R.S.*, I, 450; H.B.C. Archives Dept. file.

Swindled his creditors; entered the Hudsons Bay Service during the heat of opposition and deserted to the North West Service. An excellent Trader and a keen Shrewd fellow who is qualified to be very useful either at a Trading Post or Depôt, but a man of no principle who is retained in the Service merely because he could be very troublesome to us if attached to Opposition on the West side the Mountains from his knowledge of the Country and business. Stationed in the Saskatchewan Deptmt.

No. 58 McLeod John.<sup>1</sup> A Scotch hilander about 40 Years of Age. 16 years in the Service. A very steady active well behaved Man of tolerable Education.<sup>2</sup> Speaks Cree, understands a little Chipewyan is an excellent Trader and has of late been employed on Severe exploring Service in the Rocky Mountains to the Westward of McKenzies River; and selected by me on account of his steady habits of business and correct conduct for the Kings Posts whither he will be sent this year. Looks forward with confidence to an interest in the Service at no distant period. Attached to the McKenzies River Deptmt. [His services not being immediately required in the Montreal Department has been sent back to McKenzies River where he can be more useful at present than any where else.]<sup>3</sup>

No. 59 McPherson Murdoch.<sup>4</sup> A Scotch highlander about 40 Years of Age, 16 years in the Service. A man of excellent private character and of tolerable Education. Makes himself understood in several of the Native Languages, has conducted the business of his post for several years in a very satisfactory Manner and is equal to the management of any Trading

<sup>1</sup> John McLeod joined the North West Company in 1816, and the Hudson's Bay Company in 1821. In 1823 and 1824 he spent much time and energy establishing contact with the Nahanni Indians west of the Liard River, and in 1831 led an exploring party from Fort Simpson along the West Branch of the Liard River. He was appointed Chief Trader in 1834, and retired after two years furlough in 1842. *H.B.R.S.*, I, 455; R. M. Patterson, 'The Nahanny Lands', *The Beaver*, Summer 1961, pp. 40-7.

<sup>2</sup> In January 1823 Simpson at Fort Chipewyan wrote of McLeod, 'a young Gentleman of much promise, who has been my fellow Traveller all Winter. . . .' D.4/2, fos. 19-20.

<sup>3</sup> This would certainly have been to the liking of Chief Factor Edward Smith, who on 15 March 1832 wrote on McLeod's behalf from Fort Simpson to Simpson and the Council of the Northern Department: 'To the Majority of the Council he is a stranger — with his actions during a seven years residence with me you are better acquainted they have been conspicuous. His discretion — abilities and firmness has been often tried in all shapes, in Plenty, in misery, and in danger, as he is now about to leave me perhaps for ever you will pardon the freedom and last effort of one of your Honourable Council, in recommending him to your unanimous support for a speedy Promotion — you will not allow me to Plead in Vain for the man that has such strong claims in service and in merit — and who has in such a modest and Gentlemanly manner conducted the Parties whose labours have extended the limits of your favourite McKenzies River District so far beyond its usual boundaries — introduced to our acquaintance seven tribes of Indians — with whom we had no intercourse in 1824 — and laid open a rich Country to the future pursuits of the Honourable Company.' B.200/b/7, p. 49.

<sup>4</sup> Born about 1796, Murdoch McPherson joined the North West Company in 1816, and the Hudson's Bay Company in 1821. He spent most of his service until his retirement in 1821 in the Mackenzie River district. He became a Chief Trader in 1834, Chief Factor in 1847, and died in 1863. Wallace, *Documents relating to North West Company*, p. 483.



Post but not sufficiently conversant with Accounts or general business to be useful at a Dépôt. Well qualified to fill the situation of Chief Trader to advantage and has every prospect of early advancement. Stationed at McKenzies River.

No. 60 McKenzie Donald.<sup>1</sup> A Scotchman about 45 Years of Age, has been 14 Years in the Service. Tolerably well Educated and has an imposing Manner and address, but a trifling useless superficial fellow who can Drink & pilfer and rarely speaks the truth. Was a Lieut in the Army but 'Sent to Coventry' and obliged to Sell out having Shewn the 'White Feather'. A blustering Cowardly poltroon who is retained in the Service through mere charity.<sup>2</sup> Stationed in New Caledonia.

No. 61 Manson Donald.<sup>3</sup> A Scotchman about 38 Years of Age, has been 15 years in the Country. A stout strong active Man well adapted for Opposition, exploring Service or any other duty requiring strength and activity.<sup>4</sup> Qualified for the charge of a Post and has influence both with Indians and Servants, but deficient in Education and cannot be left to the exercise of his own judgement in any matter requiring head work. Is likely to remain a long time on the List of Clerks, Stationed in the Columbia.

No. 62 McKay Thomas.<sup>5</sup> A half breed of the Saulteaux Tribe, about

<sup>1</sup> Donald McKenzie joined the Hudson's Bay Company in 1818, and at the time of this entry was a clerk in the New Caledonia district. He moved to the Lac la Pluie district in 1836, and served there until his retirement in 1850. H.B.C. Archives Dept. file.

<sup>2</sup> The critical references to McKenzie in A.34/1 begin as early as 1824, 'Imposing in manners & address but empty was in the army talks like a brave man courage doubted frequently complains of Colic & finds great relief from a Glass of spirits. . . .' On the other hand, in the same year John Stuart wrote more kindly of him: '. . . perfectly honourable and if not extraordinarily bright means well — is assiduous in the performance of his duty and does not think himself of more consequence or more knowing than he really is. . .' B.119/e/1, fo. 5d.

<sup>3</sup> Born in 1796, Manson joined the Hudson's Bay Company in 1817. In the course of an energetic career he accompanied (in 1822–3) parties exploring the South Saskatchewan, Bow and Deer rivers; and in 1824 he was Samuel Black's second-in-command on his expedition along the Finlay River. In 1832 Manson explored the Nass River, and the next year established Fort McLoughlin. He was appointed Chief Trader in 1837, and remained on the northwest coast until his retirement in 1857. In 1850, in response to a complaint from Manson at not obtaining a Chief Factorship, Simpson wrote to him, 'Latterly, however, there is an impression in the minds of the gentlemen in the Country that the value of your services has been a good deal neutralized by an unfortunate irritability of temper' (*H.B.R.S.*, XVIII, 237); and in 1853 Simpson criticized the 'rough treatment' and 'club law' in Manson's area of New Caledonia. He died in Oregon on 7 January 1880. *H.B.R.S.*, XVIII, 221–41; *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, X, 495–6.

<sup>4</sup> This characteristic was noted by Simpson in 1825 — 'his time would be thrown away at an Establishment, active service being his forte'. A.34/1, fo. 20.

<sup>5</sup> The son of John McLoughlin's wife by a previous marriage, Thomas McKay was born in the Indian country about 1796. He was with the Pacific Fur Company in 1810, joined the North West Company in 1814, and the Hudson's Bay Company in 1821. During the 1820s he saw arduous and dangerous service in the Snake, Umpqua and Sacramento country with Ogden, A. R. McLeod and others. In 1833 he settled on the Willamette, and although he returned to the Company's service as a clerk in 1834 he was involved until 1837 in McLoughlin's project of trade with American trappers. McKay retired from the service in 1839, accompanied James Douglas to California in 1840 on behalf of the Puget's Sound Agricultural Company, participated in the Cayuse War and the California gold rush, and died in late 1849 or early 1850. *H.B.R.S.*, IV, 347–9.

40 Years of Age has been 20 years in the Service. Lame in consequence of a Deslocation of the Knee notwithstanding which he is very active, one of the best Shots in the Country and very cool and resolute among Indians. has always been employed on the most desperate service in the Columbia and the more desperate it is the better he likes it. He is known to every Indian in that Department and his name alone is a host of Strength carrying terror with it as he has sent many of them to their 'long home'; quite a 'blood hound' who must be kept under restraint. possesses little judgement and a confirmed Liar, but a necessary evil at such a place as Vancouver; has not a particle of feeling or humanity in his composition.<sup>1</sup> Is at the height of his ambition.

No. 63 McDonald John.<sup>2</sup> A Scotchman, about 50 Years of Age, has been 31 years in the Service. A man of plain good Education and an excellent Indian Trader. A long headed sensible fellow but a Drunkard and therefore only useful in those parts of the Country where Liquor is prohibited.<sup>3</sup> Exaggerates a little in reference to his own Services and performances. His intemperate habits are an insuperable obstacle to promotion which he might otherwise have looked to with confidence.

No. 64 McGillivray Wm.<sup>4</sup> A half breed of the Cree Nation. About 36 Years of Age 18 Years in the Service. Writes a good hand and rather clever, but of a Sour temper and a great deal of the sullen vindictive disposition of the Indian. Tyrannical and Oppressive in his management of the people by whom he is obeyed more through the fear of his Club than from personal respect. Manages the Trading Post entrusted to his charge very well. Conceited and self-sufficient like the generality of his Countrymen and altogether a disagreeable fellow. Has the vanity to look forward to an interest in the business but his prospects of success I

<sup>1</sup> The A.34/1 (fo. 65d.) references to McKay during the 1820s show the reputation he was gaining: 1822, 'Wild & thoughtless, useful only to accompany Trappers'; 1824, '... respected & feared by the Natives, resolute an unerring marksman'; 1825, '... on a service of danger a perfect dreadnought can live by his Gun any where'. In 1825 Simpson wrote critically of McKay's spell at Walla Walla the previous year: 'his time was occupied in horse racing and shooting with Indians instead of watching; Goods provisions and Liquors were uselessly and wastefully expended and the whole business of the Post neglected'. D.4/5, fos. 25d.-27d.

<sup>2</sup> George (not John) McDonald joined the North West Company in 1801 and the Hudson's Bay Company in 1821. He was described by John Stuart in 1823 as 'the most complete Indian Trader' he had known (B.188/e/1). McDonald was transferred to Great Slave Lake in the Athabasca district in 1831, and continued there until his retirement in 1834. He died on 1 December 1834. *H.B.R.S.*, X, 258-9.

<sup>3</sup> In 1830, after repeated earlier references to McDonald's drinking habits, Simpson wrote: '... was addicted to liquor some years ago, but has had no opportunity of indulging in that vice of late & may have conquered the habit.' A.34/1, fo. 49.

<sup>4</sup> Born about 1796, William McGillivray joined the North West Company in 1816 and the Hudson's Bay Company in 1821. In 1828 Simpson pronounced himself dissatisfied with McGillivray's record at Fort Chipewyan with his father-in-law Alexander Stewart near at hand, and transferred him to McLeod Lake in New Caledonia. *H.B.R.S.*, X, 259-60.



imagine are very Slender.<sup>1</sup> Stationed in New Caledonia District. [I have received information of his death since writing this.]<sup>2</sup>

No. 65 McDougald John.<sup>3</sup> A Scotchman about 32 Years of Age, has been 11 years in the Service. A very hardy rough active persevering Man who has been exceedingly useful of late years in the Grand River Opposition and given more trouble to the Petty Traders then any two Clerks in that Deptmt. Speaks Algonquin tolerably well, but is clownish in his manners and address and deficient in point of Education. Has all the qualifications that were considered necessary to render one eligible to hold an interest in the business in former times but not sufficiently enlightened for the present Day and therefore is likely to remain long on the List of Clerks, Stationed in the Montreal Deptmt.

No. 66 McLean John.<sup>4</sup> A Scotchman about 34 Years of Age, has been 13 Years in the Service. Tolerably well Educated but assumes a high lofty style of Writing which is quite ridiculous and his misapplications of long words in which he deals unsparingly is quite laughable. Makes himself understood in Algonquin, is a favourite with Indians and has a good deal of influence with the people. Has three smaller Posts under his direction in the neighbourhood of Lac du Sable which he manages very well and is a man of correct conduct. Likely to be promoted in due time. Stationed in the Montreal Deptmt.<sup>5</sup>

No. 67 McKenzie John.<sup>6</sup> A Scotchman about 30 Years of Age — 6 years in the Service. A well meaning man who has had the advantage of a good Education, but dull, raw, without energy and has not the talent of commanding respect either from Servants or Indians; nevertheless

<sup>1</sup> William Connolly evidently held a higher opinion than Simpson of McGillivray, for in 1830 he wrote to Simpson and the Council of the Northern Department that 'In activity he excels many others and in capacity he is inferior to none of his class in this District . . . I am sorry to see his name stand *alone* upon our list at a salary of £75 pr. annum.' D.4/123, fo. 83.

<sup>2</sup> McGillivray was drowned in the Fraser River on 31 January 1832.

<sup>3</sup> John McDougall joined the Company in about 1822, and at the time of this entry was in charge of the Chats post, Ottawa River. He retired from the service in 1840. H.B.C. Archives Dept. file.

<sup>4</sup> Born in 1799, John McLean joined the Hudson's Bay Company in 1821, served in the Lake of Two Mountains district until 1830, and after some time in New Caledonia moved to Fort Chimo in the Ungava district in 1837, in which year he was promoted to Chief Trader. McLean stayed at Chimo until 1841, then after furlough and two years in the Mackenzie River district he retired in 1845 after an angry dispute with Simpson. He died on 8 September 1890 in Victoria at the age of ninety. H.B.C. Archives Dept. file.

<sup>5</sup> McLean has two claims to fame: firstly, he made notable journeys across the Labrador peninsula in 1838 and 1839, on the second of which he discovered the Great Falls of Labrador; secondly, in 1849 his *Notes of a Twenty-Five Years' Service in the Hudson's Bay Territory* was published to provide one of the few first-hand accounts of life in the Company's service, as well as a series of scathing comments on Simpson's alleged autocracy and favouritism.

<sup>6</sup> Born in Ross-shire, John McKenzie entered the Company's service in 1826. He was described by Cuthbert Cumming in 1831, writing from Weymoutashing, as 'attentive & active and does all the business here. . . .' B.134/c/12, fo. 235d. He seems to have left the Company the next year; in July 1831 Cumming wrote that McKenzie was going to Montreal 'at his own request'. B.134/c/16, fo. 2d.



entertains a good opinion of himself but is not likely to come forward Stationed in the Montreal Department.

No. 68 McKenzie John.<sup>1</sup> A Scotchman about 24 Years of Age, has been 2 years in the Service. A very firm steady young man of excellent Education and good abilities. Was in a Lawyers Office in Scotland for 3 Years. Applies closely to business and is likely to become a rising man in the Country. Employed at the La Chine Counting House since he entered the Service.

No. 69 Nourse Wm.<sup>2</sup> A Scotchman about 40 Years of Age has been 15 Years in the Service; tolerably well Educated, writes a fair hand and is qualified to keep the accounts of a District: but irritable and wanting in Nerve among Indians, with whom as also with Servants he has little influence so that he is not well adapted for an important charge and he is not sufficiently strong hardy and active for Severe duty: nevertheless useful and steady but not likely to come forward to an interest in the business. Stationed at Lake Huron.

No. 70 Pambrun P. C.<sup>3</sup> A Canadian about 45 Years of Age — 17 Years in the Service. An active, steady dapper little fellow, is anxious to be useful but is wanting in judgement and deficient in Education: Full of 'pluck',<sup>4</sup> has a very good opinion of himself and is quite a 'Petit Maitre'. Does not manage the business of his Post well owing more to a want of discretion & foresight than to indifference or inattention:<sup>5</sup> Would drink I am of the opinion if not under restraint. Cannot look up to an interest in the business. Stationed in the Columbia.

<sup>1</sup> Born in 1807, this younger John McKenzie entered the Company's service in 1830, spent most of his early career as a clerk at Lachine, became Chief Trader in 1844, Chief Factor in 1855, and retired in 1865. H.B.C. Archives Dept. file.

<sup>2</sup> William Nourse entered the service of the Hudson's Bay Company in 1817, and at the time of this entry was stationed at Michipicoten in the Lake Superior district. He was promoted to Chief Trader in 1838, and in 1841 took charge of the Eskimo Bay district. He retired in 1851, after three years furlough, and died at Cobourg on 4 May 1855. H.B.C. Archives Dept. file.

<sup>3</sup> Born near Quebec in 1792, Pierre Chrysologue Pambrun joined the Hudson's Bay Company in 1815 after reaching the rank of ensign in the French Canadian *Voltigeur* regiment of the British army. He served both east and west of the mountains, notably at Walla Walla where he commanded the post from 1832 until his death in an accident on 15 May 1841. He was appointed Chief Trader in 1839, one of the few French Canadians in the Company's employ to reach this rank. *H.B.R.S.*, IV, 351-2.

<sup>4</sup> In 1823 Colin Robertson reported: 'This Gentleman has not acquired the necessary knowledge of an Indian trader, having taken an active part in the late unfortunate contest, when fighting and trading was the order of the day.' B.60/e/5, fo. 5. In 1827 Simpson noted: 'Spirited active fellow, more adapted for discovery or service of danger than regular work, in bad health and likely to retire.' A.34/1, fo. 41d.

<sup>5</sup> At Walla Walla Pambrun gained a reputation for hospitality and helpfulness among the many American travellers who visited the post, an attitude which did not always endear him to Simpson (see D.4/100, fos. 6d.-7). But in 1837 McLoughlin commented that 'he is as anxious to promote the Interest of the Concern as a man possibly can be, and has managed the affairs of Walla Walla, one of the most troublesome posts (if not the most troublesome) in the Country, with the utmost skill and judgement.' *H.B.R.S.*, IV, 196.

No. 71 Ryan [William]<sup>1</sup> Master of the *Cadbro*. An Englishman about 38 Years of Age, has been 3 years in the Service. Does not appear to be a man of much talent in his profession. Lost a Vessel at the Mouth of the Columbia on his first Voyage in the Service through want of Skill and of nerve and his Services since then have not been conspicuous for a [talent?] of any description. His private character I believe is tolerably good at least I have heard nothing to the contrary as yet. Attached to the Columbia Deptmt. [Since writing this I find he has retired from the Service.]

No. 72 Ross Chs.<sup>2</sup> A Scotchman about 38 Years of Age, 14 Years in the Service. A good classical scholar and a man of very correct conduct but so nervous at times that it is quite painful to see him. Very Slovenly both in business and in his appearance. Has a smattering of the *Saulteaux* & Carrier Languages. I have often thought that he was not quite of Sound Mind and am much mistaken if he has not shewn decided symptoms of Madness altho it has been carefully concealed by those about him. Expresses himself very well on paper and has a certain cleverness about him — but not generally useful nor likely to become a rising man. Stationed at New Caledonia.<sup>3</sup>

No. 73 Rae Wm. G.<sup>4</sup> An Orkneyman about 23 Years of Age — 5 Years in the Service. A very fine high spirited well conducted Young Man of tolerably good Education. Stout Strong and active, is quite a Mechanical Genius and can turn his hand to any thing. Has suffered much inconvenience of late from a Cataract in one of his Eyes of which he has lost the Sight and this misfortune disqualifies him from constant Desk Work,<sup>5</sup> but he is well adapted for other Departments of the business and

<sup>1</sup> William Ryan joined the Company in 1829, and the next year lost the brig *Isabella* when he mistook Chinook Point for Cape Disappointment. After taking the *Ganymede* back to England in 1831–2 he was reappointed to the Company's sea service, but as chief mate. He retired in 1836. *H.B.R.S.*, IV, 355.

<sup>2</sup> Charles Ross joined the Hudson's Bay Company in 1818, and served at a remarkable number of posts. At the time of this entry he was in charge of McLeod Lake in New Caledonia. He was appointed a Chief Trader in 1841, and died, still in the Company's service, on Vancouver Island on 27 June 1844. *H.B.R.S.*, VI, 402–4.

<sup>3</sup> In April 1832 Ross wrote to James Hargrave from McLeod Lake, where he had suffered from scurvy in the winter of 1830–1: 'Of my own state of Health I have little to say save, that it is somewhat improved, and that, as I expect to remove to the Athabasca District in the Autumn, change of Scene & Diet may complete my cure.' Glazebrook, *Hargrave Correspondence*, p. 93.

<sup>4</sup> The son of John Rae, the Company's agent at Stromness, William Glen Rae was born about 1809, and joined the Company in 1827. He was appointed to the Columbia Department in 1834, became a Chief Trader in 1841, and in the same year was placed in charge of the Company's business at San Francisco. This, according to Simpson, he mismanaged and he committed suicide on 19 January 1845. *H.B.R.S.*, IV, 353–5; XXIX, xl–xli, 86, 114–16.

<sup>5</sup> In 1828 William Smith, Secretary of the Hudson's Bay Company, informed John Rae that 'William met with an accident some time since from the discharge of a fowling piece which injured one of his eyes. . . ' A.5/8, fo. 151–151d. He returned home for medical treatment, and by 1829 had 'nearly recovered the perfect use of his Sight'. A.6/22, fo. 25d. However, in 1832 J. D. Cameron reported from Lac La Pluie that 'Mr. Rae's Eye is so much inflamed, that he cannot bear the least

promises fair to become a rising Man in the country. Stationed at Lac la Pluie.

No. 74 Ross George.<sup>1</sup> A Scotchman about 26 Years of Age, has been 8 Years in the Service. A very fine looking active young Man of tolerable Education and good address, but not bright and exhibits a good deal of the vain silly puppy. Writes a good hand but has little application and cannot even copy correctly altho he has had 3 Years practise in the La Chine Counting House. Has the talent however of making himself agreeable to and acquiring an influence over Indians, but not the judgement necessary for a difficult or troublesome charge. Stationed at Temiscamingue.

No. 75 Robertson Alexander.<sup>2</sup> A Scotchman about 40 Years of Age — has been 16 or 17 Years in the Service. Tolerably well Educated and qualified for the charge of a Small Trading Post but has not much influence either wh Servants or Indians. A little trifling insignificant body,<sup>3</sup> not adapted for active or laborious Service and of indifferent private character. Stationed at Mingan.

No. 76 Rae Richd.<sup>4</sup> An Orkneyman about 20 Years of Age 2 Years in the Service. A very fine mild tempered promising Young Man of good appearance and address and tolerably well Educated. Applies closely to business, and is likely to become a valuable Servant in any Deptmt of the business, Stationed at the Kings Posts.

No. 77 Swanston Wm.<sup>5</sup> An Englishman about 32 Years of Age has been 11 Years in the Service. A very steady active well conducted man of plain good Education, but better adapted for the Trading rather than the Counting House Deptmt of the business. Speaks Chippaway, is

Ray of light, and is now confined to a very dark room' (B.105/a/16, 11 May), and in 1836 Rae seems once more to have returned to England for an operation.

<sup>1</sup> George Ross joined the Company in 1825, and served as a clerk, mostly at Mingan, until his death on 14 May 1846. H.B.C. Archives Dept. file.

<sup>2</sup> Robertson was born in Glasgow in 1791, and joined the Hudson's Bay Company in 1811. He served as a clerk at Mingan or at the King's Posts from 1828 until 1845, and retired in 1846. H.B.C. Archives Dept. file.

<sup>3</sup> He was described in 1822 as 'A fine young man tolerable clerk and trader with a respectable education' (A.34/1, fo. 29), and certainly had some ambitions early in life — as he explained to Nicholas Garry: 'In the course of the year 1810 and 11 my friends in Scotland received such flattering accounts of the prospects for young men disposed to enter the companys service that I embarked for YF under an engagement for four years, at a consideration for that period so trifling as to have no other value than what arose from its connection with a transaction that was considered to be an introduction to future advantages.' H.B.C. Archives Dept., 'Garry Folder'.

<sup>4</sup> Brother of W. G. Rae, Richard joined the Company in 1830, but served only until 1837. His early retirement was probably caused by ill health, for in 1834 Simpson noted that 'he continues in a precarious state, he has long been ailing and I beg that he may be withdrawn from the Kings Posts, and kept with reach of medical advice.' H.B.C. Archives Dept. file.

<sup>5</sup> Born in 1802, John (not William) Swanston entered the Company's service in 1820 and in the course of a steady career became Chief Trader in 1841, and Chief Factor in 1854 before retiring in 1858.



respected by the People, liked by Indians and manages the business of his Post in a very Satisfactory manner. May look forward with confidence to promotion. Stationed in Lake Superior Deptmt.

No. 78 Small Patk.<sup>1</sup> A half breed of the Cree Tribe about 48 Years of Age 27 Years in the Service. An excellent Trader among the Plain Tribes in the Saskatchewan. Speaks several of the native Languages, but deficient in point of Education: is very active, liked by the natives, commands respect among the people and manages the business of his post well, but addicted to Liquor and his word is not always to be depended on, so that he has no prospect of advancement. Stationed in the Saskatchewan Deptmt.

No. 79 Sinclair Wm.<sup>2</sup> A half breed of the Cree Nation. About 40 Years of Age 22 Years in the Service. Deficient in Education. A good Shot and tolerably active but possesses little judgement. A mean spirited low blackguard kind of fellow. Manages the business of a small outpost but moderately well, and commands little respect among Servants or Indians.<sup>3</sup>

No. 80 Simpson Thomas.<sup>4</sup> A Scotchman 3 years in the Service 24

<sup>1</sup> Born in about 1785, probably at Ile à la Crosse, Patrick Small joined the North West Company in 1794 and the Hudson's Bay Company at the coalition in 1821. Two years later Colin Robertson noted of him: 'good trader has a considerable influence among the natives, but rather indulgent towards them. . . .' B.60/e/5. He spent all his service in the Saskatchewan district, where he died in 1846.

<sup>2</sup> Born in about 1794 William Sinclair entered the service of the Hudson's Bay Company in 1808. At the time of this entry he was moving from command at the Dalles in the Winnipeg district to Rainy Lake. He became a Chief Trader in 1844, Chief Factor in 1850, retired in 1863 after more than half a century with the Company, and died on 12 October 1868. *H.B.R.S.*, III, 456-8.

<sup>3</sup> There was clearly some difference of opinion about Sinclair's capabilities among Company officers in this period. In 1826 J. D. Cameron referred to Sinclair as 'A Sober young Man — careful & attentive — is very handy and industrious — rather of a sickly disposition'. In May 1831 John Stuart wrote from Bas de la Rivière to Simpson at more length: 'Mr. Sinclaire arrived here last night . . . His Returns are very good . . . and the result proves more clearly than any language of mine could do that ample Justice has this Year been done to the Post of the Dalles — nor is it but common justice to remark that I am perfectly satisfied with Mr. Sinclaire. I think he has greatly improved since he came to this District. It was then the declared opinion of the Gentleman, with whom he had previously been that if I gave him a charge once, I would not repeat it a second time, but now that he has had, with me, the charge of a Post, no very easy one, for two successive years and that I can Judge from my own Knowledge the result is that, there are very few, I am acquainted with, to whom I would more willingly comit the charge in future.' B.4/b/1, fos. 7d.-8.

<sup>4</sup> Born in Scotland in 1808, the brother of Aemilius and Alexander Simpson, Thomas Simpson was a cousin of Governor Simpson. He joined the Company in 1828, having apparently refused the Governor's offer to become his secretary three years earlier. On his arrival in Canada in 1829 Thomas joined the Governor as his confidential clerk, and from 1831 to 1836 he carried out at Red River the duties sketched in this entry. In 1836 Thomas was appointed joint leader (with Chief Factor Dease) of the Company's Northern Discovery Expedition, an enterprise, he told the Governor, which he entered on 'with confidence and alacrity. It holds out to my imagination the prospects of realizing some, at least, of the romantic aspirations which first led me to the New World, and disappointment has given place to ardent hope.' Alexander Simpson, *Life and Travels*, p. 223. Thomas returned to Fort Garry from the expedition in 1840, and on 14 June 1840 was killed near Turtle River, North Dakota, in an incident never satisfactorily explained. He had been appointed Chief Trader shortly before his death. *H.B.R.S.*, III, 455-6; Douglas MacKay and W. Kaye Lamb, 'More Light on Thomas Simpson', *The Beaver*, September 1938, pp. 26-31.

Years of Age; Was considered one of the most finished Scholars in Aberdeen College:<sup>1</sup> is hardy & active and will in due time if he goes on as he promises be one of the most complete men of business in the country; acts as my Secty and Confidential Clerk during the busy Season and in the capacities of Shopman, Accountant & Trader at Red River Settlement during the Winter. Perfectly correct in regard to personal conduct & character.<sup>2</sup>

No. 81 Alexr. Simpson.<sup>3</sup> Brother of the above. 22 Years of Age, 4 years in the Service. Well Educated, attentive to business; fills the Situation of principal accountant at La Chine: correct in conduct and private character & promises to be a valuable man in the Service.<sup>4</sup>

No. 82 Wallace [Mansfield].<sup>5</sup> Considered a temporary Servant, was picked up at the Sault during the heat of opposition two years ago to fill a vacancy in Lake Huron Deptmt and we do not know much of his

<sup>1</sup> King's College, Aberdeen, which Simpson entered in 1824; he was awarded the degree of Master of Arts in 1828.

<sup>2</sup> Though in a letter of July 1833 (published after his death) Thomas complained in the strongest terms to his brother Alexander of the Governor's behaviour: '... with all the Governor's good will and kind intentions, he has been to me a severe and most repulsive master. I know, and he has more than once told me, that this was a matter of policy with him ... By assuming a harsh manner towards me, he should have known — he who lays claim to so much tact and knowledge of human nature — that the necessary effects on a young and generous mind would be a reciprocal repulsiveness, perhaps hatred; but I know his real sentiments, and forgive his apparent, though unnecessary unkindness ... I will not conceal from you, that on a nearer view of his character than I before had, I lost much of that internal respect I entertained towards him. His firmness and decision of mind are much impaired: both in great and small matters, he has become wavering, capricious, and changeable; in household affairs, (for he is his own butler and housekeeper) the very cook says openly, that he is like a weather-cock. He has grown painfully nervous and crabbed, and is guilty of many little meannesses at table that are quite beneath a gentleman, and, I might add, are indicative of his birth.' Alexander Simpson, *Life and Travels*, pp. 78–80.

<sup>3</sup> Born about 1811, Alexander Simpson joined the Company in 1827, was appointed to the Lachine establishment on his arrival in Canada in 1828, and remained there until 1834 when differences with Chief Factor James Keith led to his removal to Moose Factory. In 1839 he was transferred to the Columbia, with special responsibilities for business in the Hawaiian Islands, and was made Chief Trader in 1841. He retired from the service in 1843 after a dispute with Governor Simpson, who during Alexander's absence in England after the death of his brother Thomas, appointed another Company servant to take his place. Alexander returned to the Islands as temporary consul for a short time, and later outlined his actions there in a book, *The Sandwich Islands*. ... (London, 1843). *H.B.R.S.*, VI, 404–6.

<sup>4</sup> Governor Simpson heard of Alexander's banishment from Lachine with surprise and some regret, as he informed J. G. McTavish in a private letter of December 1834: 'he [Alexander Simpson] was the only man fit for the situation he filled and if any accident should happen to Keith or that he absented himself for a time a Stranger would find the management of the La Chine Establishmt a very awkward charge without Alexr. in Council. There does not appear to be any Solid grounds for his removal, from what I know of his Character I believe him an honourable correct and very clever young man. Keith seems to think he looked tenderly on one of the Maid Servants, I do not believe it, but even suppose he did so I think it would have been better to have parted w<sup>th</sup>. the damsel than with the most efficient man at the Establishmt. unless the old gentleman himself had a Sheeps Eye towards her. ...' B.135/c/2, fo. 138.

<sup>5</sup> Mansfield Wallace joined the Company in 1830 at the age of 37; he had once served the North West Company at the King's Posts. After five years service in the Lake Huron district Wallace retired to Canada in 1835. H.B.C. Archives Dept. file.



previous History. Qualified for the charge of a Small Post which is about the extent of his capability; has conducted himself so far well and will be retained if he continues to give Satisfaction.

No. 83 Archd. McInlay.<sup>1</sup> A Youth of 16 Years of Age, came out with his Sister Mrs McMillan last Year with the intention of returning to Scotland, but passed the Winter at York where he was employed in the Counting House. Applied this Season for the situation of Apprentice Clerk and as his Services will be useful his request was complied wh, his Engagement for 5 Years on the usual terms £20, £25, £30, £40, & £50 commencing 1st of June 1832. Promises to become a very Stout Powerful man but deficient in regard to Education.

No. 84 Taylor George.<sup>2</sup> A Cree half breed. About 40 Years of Age has been 13 Years in the Service. Was intended for the Naval Country Service, but has not been regularly bred to Sea and is not qualified to command a Ship altho' he understands the theoretical part of his profession: is a good Draftsman<sup>3</sup> and a tolerable Clerk. Has no command over the people, does not seem to possess much Nerve<sup>4</sup> and if not closely watched is likely to take to the Bottle. At the height of his ambition. Stationed at York.

No. 85 Todd John.<sup>5</sup> A Scotchman about 40 Years of Age, has been 20 Years in the Service: a tolerable Clerk, a good Trader and expresses himself well by Letter. Has experienced much privation in New Caledonia which has injured his constitution & destroyed his health.<sup>6</sup> Exhibits a

<sup>1</sup> Having joined the Company in 1832, Archibald McKinlay served both east and west of the mountains until his retirement in 1851. He was promoted to Chief Trader in 1846. Although he retired because of ill health McKinlay was alive in British Columbia as late as 1882. *H.B.R.S.*, VI, 394-5.

<sup>2</sup> George Taylor joined the Hudson's Bay Company in 1819, and was employed at York and Red River. He was surveyor at Red River Settlement from 1836 until his death on 15 November 1844. *H.B.R.S.*, III, 459.

<sup>3</sup> The H.B.C. Archives contain maps drawn by Taylor of the route between York and Red River Settlement (1827), of the 'winter road' from Fox River to Oxford House (1833), and a plan of Red River Settlement (1836-8).

<sup>4</sup> In 1828 Taylor abandoned on grounds of ill health a survey of the route to the Settlement, on which Simpson wrote to J. G. McTavish in May 1829 that he should be sent back to England 'if we do not absolutely require his Services as I am by no means satisfied wh. his excuses for not pushing on...' B.239/c/2, fo. 10.

<sup>5</sup> Born in Scotland in 1794, John Tod joined the Hudson's Bay Company in 1811. He served in New Caledonia from 1823 until 1832 when he was sent to Split Lake in the Nelson River district. Here he received a severe reprimand from the London Committee over his dismissal in 1833 of postmaster Andrew Wilson; nevertheless he was promoted to Chief Trader in 1834. Tod subsequently served on the Columbia, and again in New Caledonia, and retired from the service in 1852 after two years furlough. He died in 1882. *H.B.R.S.*, III, 459-60; Madge Wolfenden, editor, 'John Tod: "Career of a Scotch Boy"', *British Columbia Historical Quarterly*, XVIII (1954), pp. 133-238.

<sup>6</sup> Ironically, Tod was sent to New Caledonia in 1824 because, as Simpson put it in his 1822 and 1823 reports on his stay at Island Lake, he 'has got indolent . . . requires to be brushed up and made acquainted with the hardships of the country . . . has been too long in the low countries. . . .' A.34/1,



little of the Radical — considers himself neglected and overlooked in the Service and is dissatisfied.<sup>1</sup> Exaggerates a good deal in speaking of his own Services, is coarse in his manners and has a Vulgar habit of Swearing: was suspected a few years ago of being fond of a Glass of Grog, but has had no opportunity of indulging in that way since he went to New Caledonia. Is not generally liked but I think has claims to promotion and may in due time succeed in attaining a Chief Tradership.

No. 86 Thomas Charles.<sup>2</sup> A half breed from the Southern Shores of the Bay. About 40 Years of Age — 23 Years off and on in the Service. Extravagant, unsteady and I think his honesty is very questionable; Specious, and to judge by his conversation would be considered a cleverish fellow, but is entirely an 'Eye Servant' and can do nothing well if left to himself. Stationed in the Montreal Deptmt.

No. 87 Yale J. M.<sup>3</sup> A Canadian, about 36 Years of Age, 17 Years in the Service. A Sharp active well conducted very little Man but full of fire with the courage of a Lion.<sup>4</sup> Deficient in Education, but has a good deal of address & Management with Indians and notwithstanding his diminutive Size is more feared & respected than some of our 6 foot Men, but the want of Education precludes all hopes of his Succeeding to an interest in the concern. Stationed at Frazers River.

No. 88 Barnston George.<sup>5</sup> A Scotchman, 12 Years in the Service,

fo. 38. According to Tod, he was banished to New Caledonia because of an incident at York in 1823 when he struck Simpson's personal servant, Tom Taylor, and (apparently) adopted a threatening attitude towards Simpson himself. 'Career of a Scotch Boy', pp. 157-8.

<sup>1</sup> Tod's letters to Edward Ermatinger contain ample evidence of this. In February 1829 he wrote from McLeod Lake, New Caledonia, '... when the Govr was here [in 1828], I had a little chit chat with him on the subject of my being left in the lurch, at the late appointments — all that passed between us on the affair, afforded me but little satisfaction — he exhorted me several times not to despair. "Yes" said I "but you give me no hopes".' *Ibid.*, p. 232 The next February Tod was still writing on the same theme: 'It is from not Knowing how to better my condition that, in a manner, compels me to remain in their service — I was once a great builder of castles in the air, but, for the most part, I have now given it up as an unprofitable speculation . . . Neither a successful return of Beaver skins, merit, nor length of service, will give me a chance for promotion in this hateful employ. That feathering thing called favour will always make those, who have nothing but honest work to recommend them, kick the beam. Do you know that I conceive myself very ill used, and I think I have just cause to complain.' *Ibid.*, p. 233.

<sup>2</sup> Born at Moose Factory, Charles Thomas joined the Hudson's Bay Company in 1808. He twice left the service (in 1814 and 1822) before finally retiring in about 1832 from his post at Lake of the Two Mountains. *H.B.R.S.*, I, 471.

<sup>3</sup> Born in 1798 at Lachine, James Murray Yale joined the Hudson's Bay Company in 1815. After seven years service in New Caledonia, Yale accompanied Simpson in 1828 on his examination of the Fraser and Thompson rivers, and then remained at Fort Langley, where he was stationed until 1859. He was promoted to Chief Trader in 1844, retired in 1860 after a year's furlough, and died in British Columbia on 7 May 1871. *H.B.R.S.*, I, 473-4; *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, X, 719-20.

<sup>4</sup> Dr Kaye Lamb notes: 'A much liked character, Yale was known as "Little Yale" because of his short stature about which he was sensitive. Chief Factor James Douglas, his superior in the Hudson's Bay Company, a big man, took a quiet delight in standing near Yale and observing his discomfiture.' *Ibid.*, 720.

<sup>5</sup> Born in Scotland about 1800, Barnston joined the North West Company in 1820 and the Hudson's

about 32 Years of Age. A well Educated man, very active, & high Spirited to a romantic degree, who will on no account do what *he* considers an improper thing, but so touchy & sensitive that it is difficult to keep on good terms or to do business with him, which frequently leads to difficulties: Seems to consider it necessary to make an 'affair of honour' of every trifling misunderstanding; has been a principal in one and a Second in another bloodless Duel and would fight anything or any body either with or without a cause. Has a high opinion of his own abilities which are above par, but over rates them. Is sometimes of a gloomy desponding turn of mind and we have frequently been apprehensive that he would commit suicide in one of those fits.<sup>1</sup> It is evident that he is of unsound mind at times; but with all his failings & peculiarities we feel an interest in him. Retired from the Service last year fancying himself neglected or ill used but without any good grounds for so thinking, and re-admitted this Season lest he might connect himself with the Americans and give us trouble or do worse in a fit of desperation (if reduced to distress) out of which a story might be made by designing people to the great annoyance of the Company.<sup>2</sup>

Bay Company at the coalition the next year. In 1826 he was transferred to the Columbia, but after spending the 1830-1 season at Walla Walla resigned, only to be re-engaged the next year. He returned east, first to the Albany district and then to the King's Posts. He was promoted to Chief Trader in 1840, Chief Factor in 1847, retired in 1863 after a year's furlough, and died at Montreal in 1882. *H.B.R.S.*, III, 427; G. A. Dunlop and C. P. Wilson, 'George Barnston', *The Beaver*, December 1941, pp. 16-17.

<sup>1</sup> As early as 1825 Simpson noted that he was 'much afflicted with melancholy or despondency, that it is feared that his nerves or mind is afflicted.' A.34/1, fo. 62d.

<sup>2</sup> Barnston had been at loggerheads with Simpson since 1826, and for ten years or more wrote venomously of the Governor in his letters. In August 1831 Simpson brought McTavish up-to-date on the subject of Barnston: 'That silly young man Barnston has retired and taken his Chinook beauty (Mathews Daughter) with him, he has written me (who I believe has been one of his best Friends) a half impertinent Letter to which I have just replied giving him a few truths, this poor young man has his peculiarities but I believe is a very good hearted honourable fellow, and I have instructed Keith & Connolly to re-engage him at his old Saly. for the Kings Posts if he be at a loss to find employment in Canada.' B.135/c/2, fo. 74. In October 1831 Barnston wrote a long letter of complaint to the London Committee from Montreal, beginning and ending in the following fashion: 'I trust you will consider it sufficient apology for my obtruding myself upon your notice, that I have been 10 years in your Service in the Indian Country, and have experienced during that time nothing but flattery and deceit from the Governor and the fell Gripe of extortion from the York factory Council . . . Gentlemen let honor and integrity be your aim, and I have every thing to hope for — do me justice — as you shall answer at that Tribunal before which we must all appear — before which we shall all tremble.' B.135/c/13, fos. 142<sup>a</sup>-142<sup>b</sup>. In July 1832 Simpson reverted to Barnston in another letter to McTavish: ' . . . Barnston I find has gone to the South — this poor young man I imagine is mad, he wrote the compy last Winter complaining bitterly against me and the council, and had written to myself the most abusive Letter I ever received . . . I believe I was the only Man in the country besides yourself who ever felt any interest in him or had any inclination to be of Service to him. It may be well to send him to Martins Falls or some where on the Albany River to keep him off the Communication otherwise he will be getting himself into difficulties with people passing & repassing.' B.135/c/2, fo. 87. Simpson's tolerance of Barnston's behaviour was an evident source of puzzlement. In May 1832 Allan McDonnell wrote to James Hargrave about Barnston: 'after abusing the Governor and Council in a long letter to the Committee and still he is taken by the Hand what think you of

## POSTMASTERS

Are a Class which ranks in the Service between Interpreters & Clerks. They are generally persons who while filling the office of Common Labourer brought themselves into particular notice by their steadiness honesty and attention and were in due time raised from the 'ranks' and placed in charge of small Posts at salaries from 35 to £45 p Annum. But many of these useful Men having withdrawn from the Service of late Years or Died off and few of the same stamp presenting themselves to fill these places we have removed to this Class Several persons from the List of Clerks who were not qualified to perform the duties of the Situations they nominally filled. and other vacancies have been filled up by Young Men the half breed Sons or Relatives of Gentlemen in the Country who could not obtain admission to the Service as Apprentice Clerks. Those who enter the Service in this Class, being generally qualified to enter on a small charge immediately are engaged for 3 years at £40 p Annum and their Salys afterwards rarely exceed £50 p Annum unless their Services become conspicuous, but they have no prospect of further advancement, nor is it intended that they shall be removed from this Class except in very particular cases of good conduct coupled with Valuable Services.

## POSTMASTERS

No. 1 McBain Wm.<sup>1</sup> A half breed — about 25 Years of Age 4 Years in the Service. Writes a fair hand and understands common accounts which is the extent of his Education. Neither bright nor useful and as yet being equal to the Charge of a small Post. Stationed at Ruperts River. Saly £40.

that. . . ' PAC, Hargrave Papers, microfilm reel C-73, Series 1, fo. 413. In 1837 Hargrave had to ask Barnston to stop writing to him about Simpson, and no real change came over the situation until 1839, when we find James Douglas replying to Hargrave, 'I am glad to hear of a break in the clouds, that for some years have obscured our friend Barnstons prospects, through which the sun begins to peer upon him' (Glazebrook, *Hargrave Correspondence*, p. 393) — perhaps a reference to Barnston's impending promotion.

<sup>1</sup> William McBean joined the Company as an interpreter in 1828 and first served in the Southern Department. In March 1833 Joseph Beioley wrote to Simpson from Rupert River that McBean had gone to Moose 'where, as I understand from himself only, he had hopes of being employed with greater advantage to himself, than he thought he was likely to attain by continuing in this quarter. . . ' B.186/b/23. However, for the next ten years McBean served in New Caledonia, and then from 1843 until his retirement in 1851 as a clerk at various posts on the Columbia. He died in the Walla Walla area on 10 April 1892. H.B.C. Archives Dept. file.



No. 2 McKenzie Benjn.<sup>1</sup> A half breed. About 26 Years of Age has been 5 Years in the Service. Has had the benefit of a tolerably good Education and has made a good use of the advantages he has had. Is active resolute and in some respects clever. Promises to become a useful Man and if he continues to do well is likely to be placed on the list of Clerks where he will become eligible to promotion. Stationed in New Caledonia, his saly was increased from £50 to £60 last Year.

No. 3 Robertson James.<sup>2</sup> An Orkneyman has been upwards of 30 Years in the Service. Came to the Country as a Common Labourer but raised Step by Step to his present rank in consequence of good conduct & faithful service. Illiterate and at the height of his ambition at £40 p Annum. Stationed in Ruperts River District.

No. 4 Vincent John.<sup>3</sup> A half breed about 38 Years of Age has been 16 years in the Service. Was in the list of Clerks but reduced to his present rank some years ago being illiterate trifling & useless. Stationed in Albany District. Salary £40 p Anm.

No. 5 Taylor Thomas.<sup>4</sup> A half breed about 35 Years of Age. Was a Labouring apprentice, for 7 Years was my own body Servant for ten Years, and has for the 3 past years been one of the most effective Postmasters in the Country. Speaks several of the Native Languages, is a great favourite with Indians, is 'a Jack of all Trades' and altogether a very useful man in his line. Stationed in Winnipeg Deptmt and is allowed a Saly of £50 p Anm.

No. 6 Charles Joseph.<sup>5</sup> The most Steady and best conducted half breed I ever knew. tolerably well Educated, is a good Clerk an excellent Trader and generally useful. Will this Year be admitted on the list of

<sup>1</sup> Born about 1807, son of Chief Factor Roderick McKenzie, Benjamin McKenzie joined the Company in 1827, and at the time of this entry was stationed in New Caledonia where he became a clerk in 1833. He died in Honolulu in 1837. *H.B.R.S.*, III, 447-8.

<sup>2</sup> Born about 1785, James Robertson joined the Hudson's Bay Company as a labourer in 1799. At the time of this entry he was in charge of Michiskan in the Rupert River district, and he remained in that district until his retirement in 1857. *H.B.C. Archives Dept. file.*

<sup>3</sup> Born at Albany about 1797, son of Thomas Vincent (Governor of the Southern Department 1814-21), John Vincent entered the Company's service in 1813. He became a clerk in 1821, but was demoted to postmaster in 1827, and indeed was only retained 'for the present out of feelings of respect to his Father'. A.34/1, fo. 76d. At this time Vincent was in charge of Osnaburgh in the Albany district; he retired to Red River in 1840. *H.B.C. Archives Dept. file.*

<sup>4</sup> Thomas Taylor joined the Hudson's Bay Company in 1815, and was Simpson's servant from 1821 to 1830. After being in charge of various posts, Taylor was promoted to clerk in 1843. He retired in 1855, and died in Ontario on 18 December 1879. *H.B.C. Archives Dept. file.* At the time of this entry he was in charge of Fort Alexandria, where J. D. Cameron noted in his journal for 26 August 1832: 'Taylor's conduct gave me the most pleasing satisfaction. One circumstance worth mentioning is, that I never saw Fort Alexander so clean since the time of my poor late friend John Dease was there.' B.105/a/17.

<sup>5</sup> Joseph Charles joined the Company in 1828, was appointed clerk at Red River in 1832, and died at York on 27 May 1836. *H.B.R.S.*, III, 431.

Clerks and I think may look to further promotion. Stationed at York, has been 5 years in the Service and is about 25 Years of Age.

No. 7 Clouston Wm.<sup>1</sup> An Orkneyman, about 45 Years of Age, has been upwards of 20 Years in the Service. Came to the country as a Labourer, was steady, honest and useful and therefore promoted to his present rank; is allowed a Saly of £60 p Anm. Stationed at Lac la Pluie.

No. 8 Isbister Thomas.<sup>2</sup> An Orkneyman about 43 Years of Age, 22 or 23 Years in the Service. Came to the country as a common Labourer, acquired a Knowledge of the Cree Language and became a very active & useful man. Has been in charge of a Small Post for several years which he managed very well and is an excellent assistant at a large Establisht. Is allowed a Saly of £50 p Anm with which he is perfectly satisfied. Stationed at Swan River. [Since writing this removed to the charge of Cumberland where he will give more satisfaction than his predecessor Chief Factor McIntosh.]

No. 9 Klyne Michl.<sup>3</sup> A Dutch Canadian, about 55 Years of Age, has been upwards of 30 Years in the Service. Has Served in the capacities of Canoe man, Labourer, Canoe Builder, Gentleman's servant, Interpreter, Fisherman and Postmaster — now nearly worn out & will retire to Red River next year. Saly £40 p Anm. Stationed at the Rocky Mountn.

No. 10 Leblanc Pierre.<sup>4</sup> A Canadian about 50 Years of Age, has been 25 Years in the Country. Has filled the Situations of Carpenter, Painter, Storeman, Builder, Indian Trader, Conductor of Work at the Depots of York & Fort William and is now employed in superintending the building of the new Establisht of Fort Garry.<sup>5</sup> A very active useful man as a Tradesman, conductor of Work, Indian Trader or in any capacity in which he may be employed. Allowed a Saly of £75 p Anm and is at the height of his ambition.

No. 11 McKay Wm.<sup>6</sup> A half breed of the Cree Nation, about 40 Years

<sup>1</sup> Born about 1794, William Clouston joined the Hudson's Bay Company as a labourer in 1812. He served as postmaster from the coalition of 1821 until his retirement in 1843. *Ibid.*, 431.

<sup>2</sup> Thomas Isbister joined the Hudson's Bay Company as a labourer in 1812. In 1825 Simpson noted of him: 'as fit for the charge of a small post as many of our Hundred Pound Clerks'. A.34/1, fo. 22. He died in 1836. H.B.C. Archives Dept. file.

<sup>3</sup> Born about 1783, Michael Klyne joined the North West Company about 1798, and the Hudson's Bay Company at the coalition of 1821. He was in charge of Jasper House when Alexander Ross passed through there in 1825 and described him as 'a jolly old fellow, with a large family'. He retired in 1835. H.B.C. Archives Dept. file.

<sup>4</sup> Born about 1782, Pierre Leblanc joined the North West Company in 1810, and the Hudson's Bay Company in 1821. In 1831 he married Nancy McKenzie, niece of Chief Factor Donald McKenzie and the former country wife of J. G. McTavish — after prolonged negotiations by Simpson and the payment of £200 by McTavish. He died with his three children in an accident on the Columbia River on 22 October 1838. *H.B.R.S.*, III, 444-5; H.B.C. Archives Dept. file.

<sup>5</sup> That is, Lower Fort Garry, where building began late in 1830. Earlier in the year, Leblanc had renovated a house at the Settlement for the Simpsons. B.135/c/2, fo. 54.

<sup>6</sup> Born in 1796, William McKay joined the Hudson's Bay Company in 1817. At this time he was in

of Age, 18 or 20 years in the Service. Has been a Boatman, Guide, Interpreter and is now a Postmaster at £50 p Anm. A steady well conducted useful man. Stationed in Island Lake District.

No. 12 Roussin Chs.<sup>1</sup> A half breed of the Saulteaux Tribe about 35 Years of Age. Has been an Interpreter & postmaster in the North West Coy's service, in the service of the American Fur Coy and is now an assistant at one of our Posts in New Caledonia. Is an active useful fellow when he can be kept Sober, but scampishly inclined, deserted to us from the Americans 3 Years ago and retained in the Service to prevent his being troublesome to us in Opposition.

No. 13 Setter George.<sup>2</sup> An Orkneyman about 50 Years of Age and upwards of 25 years in the Service. Came to the country as a common Labourer, was one of the most active attached and faithful Servants belonging to the Compy and by his great address, indefatigable labours & exertions and determined hostility to the North West Compy in the Days of opposition distinguished himself in an eminent degree. Lame of a Leg in consequence of an accidental Wound which now disqualifies him for Laborious exertion but still very useful as an assistant at a large establisht or in charge of a smaller Post and allowed a Saly of £50 p Anm wh. which he is perfectly satisfied. His hieroglyphics are only legible to those accustomed to them. Stationed at Brandon House.

No. 14 Wilson, Andw.<sup>3</sup> An Orkneyman about 50 Years of Age. Off & on in the Service about 23 Years. Was a Labourer, Gentleman's Servant, Steersman and being a Steady economical well behaved Man promoted to the charge of a Small Post which he manages tolerably well. Fully paid for his Services at £40 p Anm. Stationed at Nelsons River.

No. 15 Laframboise Michl.<sup>4</sup> A Canadian about 48 Years of Age & 20 Years in the country. Was a labourer in the Service of the American Fur Coy, picked up a Smattering of several of the Languages spoken on the Columbia, promoted to the rank of Interpreter by the N W Coy and

charge of Windy Lake in the Island Lake district. He retired to Red River in 1860. H.B.C. Archives Dept. file.

<sup>1</sup> Charles Roussin seems to have joined the North West Company in 1816. He transferred to the Hudson's Bay Company at the coalition of 1821, and remained in its service until 1850.

<sup>2</sup> George Setter served the Hudson's Bay Company from 1805 until his retirement in 1853. At the time of this entry he was postmaster at Fort Ellice in the Upper Red River district.

<sup>3</sup> Andrew Wilson joined the Hudson's Bay Company in 1806. He was dismissed from his post at Split Lake in 1833 on charges of drunkenness brought against him by John Tod, but was reinstated in 1835 after Tod had been reprimanded for 'harsh and oppressive treatment'. Wilson was drowned on Lake Winnipeg later in 1835. *H.B.R.S.*, III, 461.

<sup>4</sup> Born about 1791 in Quebec, Michel Laframboise served the American Fur Company and the North West Company before joining the Hudson's Bay Company in 1821. He took part in several expeditions to the Umpqua country in the 1820s, and (despite the unfavourable impression he had clearly made on Simpson) led expeditions himself in the general area of the Umpqua and Buena-ventura rivers in the 1830s and 1840s. He retired in 1844. H.B.C. Archives Dept. file.



now usefully employed as a 'Coureur de rouine' Interpreter & Trader from Fort Vancouver; but a lying worthless blackguard who begins to consider himself a man of consequence and sets such a high value on his Services that I am very much disposed to allow him take them to another market. Allowed a Saly of £60 p Anm.<sup>1</sup>

No. 16 Cumming Robt.<sup>2</sup> An Orkneyman about 45 Years of Age, upwards of 20 years in the Service. Came to the Country as a Labourer and advanced to the charge of a Small Post in consequence of his good conduct and steady economical habits but does not rank high even in this class. Well paid at £35 p Anm. Stationed at Berens River.

No. 17 McKay John.<sup>3</sup> A half breed native of Temiscamingue. About 40 Years of Age — 20 odd Years in the Service. Was a Clerk in the Service although deficient in Education and a poor Weak Nervous drunken Creature. Reduced to the rank of Postmaster as he was a disgrace to the class to which he originally belonged, and is only retained in the Service as he would be troublesome in opposition from his knowledge the country and influence over the Principal Indians in the District to whom he is related. Saly £60 p Anm.

No. 18 Laronde L. D.<sup>4</sup> A Canadian about 30 Years of Age, 13 Years in the Service. Was an Apprentice Clerk in the North West Coy's Service but reduced to the rank of Postmaster being a trifling lying useless ignorant puppy who has never done any good and will be allowed to retire this Season. Salary £40 p Anm. Stationed in Lake Superior Deptmt.

No. 19 Ross Simon.<sup>5</sup> A Scotchman about 27 Years of Age — 2 Years in the Service. Came to the Country as a Cooper but advanced to the rank of Postmaster being found a very useful active well conducted man of tolerably good Education and qualified to superintend our principal Fishery at the Kings Posts where he is now stationed.

<sup>1</sup> In July 1831 Simpson wrote to McLoughlin: 'The terms on which Michel Laframboise proposed to renew his engagement next year appear most unreasonable and extravagant for a man of his qualifications and acquirements, and cannot be granted, but you are at liberty to engage him at any rate of wages, under £65 p. ann., which you may consider about the value of his services.' D.4/18, fo. 69.

<sup>2</sup> Born about 1795, Robert Cummings joined the Hudson's Bay Company in 1812. He remained in charge of the Berens River post until his retirement to Red River in 1856. He died on 21 June 1863.

<sup>3</sup> John McKay joined the North West Company in about 1816, and the Hudson's Bay Company in 1821. He served only in the Timiskaming district, retiring in 1848. He died on 15 August 1856.

<sup>4</sup> Louis Denis de Laronde joined the North West Company in 1818, and the Hudson's Bay Company in 1822. Two years later it was noted of him, 'French education cannot write English'. Despite the critical nature of Simpson's entry, Laronde remained in the Company's service until 1863, always in the Lake Superior district. He died on 23 August 1868 at Sault Sainte Marie. H.B.C. Archives Dept. file.

<sup>5</sup> Simon Ross joined the Company in 1831, and was stationed at the King's Posts until his retirement in 1849. He rejoined the Company in 1865, when he was in his sixties, and served in the Saguenay district until 1879. He received a pension from the Company until his death in 1884. H.B.C. Archives Dept. file.

# INDEX

Main entries in Simpson's 'Character Book' are shown in bolder type; all such page references also include footnotes.

- Aberdeen, 172*n*, 177*n*, 192*n*  
 Albany Factory, journal (1705-06), 3-65;  
   captured by French, 3; description, 4,  
   21*n*, 22*n*; trade lists, 6-7, 66-73;  
   (Factory) (District), mentioned, 87*n*,  
   97, 98, 101, 104, 106*n*, 107*n*, 109*n*,  
   112*n*, 178*n*, 187*n*, 203, 203*n*, 207*n*, 218,  
   218*n*, 219, 219*n*, 231*n*, 233, 233*n*;  
   Island, 4-65 *passim*  
 Adhémar, Jacques, and Eagle Lake  
   incident, 99-146 *passim*  
 Akimiski Island, 13*n*  
 Allan, George T., 200-1  
 American Fur Company, 182*n*, 235, 235*n*  
 Americans (fur traders), 202*n*, 210, 221*n*,  
   235  
 Anderson, Alexander C., 201  
 Anderson, James (Montreal resident), 134  
 Anderson, James (HBC clerk), 201  
 Anderson, William, 201  
 Anderson Island, 50*n*  
 Annance, François N., 155*n*, 200  
 Assiniboia, governorship of, 177*n*, 179*n*,  
   180*n*, 181*n*, 186*n*  
 Archard, Thomas, 28  
 Athabasca, 97, 111*n*, 154, 170*n*, 173*n*,  
   175*n*, 181*n*, 187*n*, 192*n*, 199*n*, 213,  
   222*n*, 225*n*  
 Augustus, Gotlob, 64*n*  
 Auldjo, George, 143, 143*n*, 145  
 Ayre, — (ship broker), 10*n*  
  
 Back, Capt. George, 191*n*  
 Ballenden, John (HBC Chief), 92  
 Ballenden, John (HBC clerk), 166, 202  
 Barnston, George, 164, 230-1  
 Bas de la Rivière (Fort Alexander), 97,  
   99, 157, 175*n*, 227*n*  
 Bayly, Charles, 15*n*  
 Bayly Island, *see* Albany Island  
 Beale (Beal), Anthony, journal, 3-65;  
   career, 5, 9*n*, 66*n*, 67*n*  
 Bear, Thomas, 100  
 Bears, 65*n*, 69, 89  
 Beaver, 20*n*, 22, 42, 53, 55, 58, 59, 65*n*; as  
   trade standard, 69; coat, 8, 52*n*, 59, 65*n*;  
   parchment, 52*n*, 65*n*; summer, 8, 52,  
   52*n*  
 Beioley, Joseph, 165, 167, 177-8, 206*n*,  
   232*n*  
 Bell, John (legal counsel), 103  
 Bell, John (HBC clerk), 166, 201-2  
 Berens, Joseph, 103*n*, 138*n*, 142*n*, 146*n*  
 Bethune, Angus, 165, 167, 178, 181*n*  
 Bethune, Mrs Louisa, 178*n*  
 Birnie, James, 202  
 Birsay (Orkneys), 107*n*, 109*n*, 110*n*  
 Bishop, Nathaniel, 14*n*, 19*n*, 22, 28, 64*n*  
 Black, Samuel, 166, 168, 192-3, 221*n*  
 Boom Point (Albany), 50, 50*n*, 52, 53, 65  
 Boston, 86  
 Bouc, Charles W., 202  
 Brandon House, 200*n*, 235  
 Bridgar, John, 3  
 Brisbois, Charles, 201  
 Brown, Nicholas, 203  
 Bryson, Leslie M., 202-3  
 Buffalo, 89  
 Bunnell, Charles, 64*n*  
 Butler, John, 64*n*  
  
 California, 191*n*, 221*n*  
 Cameron, Allan, 203-4  
 Cameron, Angus, 164, 166, 168, 172*n*, 189  
 Cameron, Duncan, 97, 100  
 Cameron, John Dugald, 167, 173, 175*n*,  
   187*n*, 192*n*, 219*n*, 225*n*, 227*n*, 233*n*  
 Cameron, — (farmer), 131, 131*n*  
 Campbell, Colin, 166, 168, 196  
 Canning, George (statesman), 169*n*  
 Cape Disappointment, 225*n*  
 Cape Resolution, 88  
 Cape Tatnam, 84  
 Carlton House, 188*n*  
 Castoreum, 65*n*, 69, 89, 92  
 Chalifoux, Theresa, 169*n*  
 Charles, John, 167, 173-4  
 Charles, Joseph, 233-4  
 Charlton Island, 30, 30*n*  
 Chats, the, 131*n*, 223*n*

- Chinook Point, 225*n*  
 Christie, Alexander, 165, 167, 177*n*, 180  
 Christopher, William, 82*n*–83*n*  
 Churchill (HBC post), 9*n*, 19*n*, 214*n*, 215;  
     *see also* Forts, Prince of Wales,  
     Churchill River, English River  
 Clarke, John, 154, 165, 167, 171–2, 179  
 Clouston, William, 234  
 Cocking, Matthew, 84*n*, 87  
 Cockispenny Point (Albany), 54, 54*n*, 57,  
     63, 64  
 Cockran, Mrs William, 160  
 Coltman, John, 143–9 *passim*  
 Coltman, William B., 138, 138*n*, 142,  
     142*n*, 146*n*  
 Columbia (District), mentioned, 173*n*,  
     176*n*, 183*n*, 194*n*, 199*n*, 200, 201, 202,  
     202*n*, 205, 205*n*, 206*n*, 207, 211*n*, 215,  
     216, 221, 224, 229*n*, 231*n*, 232*n*, 235  
 Colville, Andrew, 193*n*  
 Connolly, William, 167, 182, 205*n*, 223*n*,  
     231*n*  
 Copenhagen, 206, 206*n*  
 Corcoran, Thomas, 203  
 Corrigan, Jacob, 168, 187  
 Corrigan, John, 109, 109*n*, 110  
 Corrigan, William, at Eagle Lake, 98–116;  
     in North West Company custody,  
     122–35; legal proceedings against at  
     Montreal, 136–50  
 ‘Country wives’, *see* ‘Mixed bloods’,  
     women  
 Cowie, Robert, 166, 168, 197–8  
 Cowie, William, 203  
 Crane Island, 147, 148  
 Cromarty, Robert, 87*n*  
 Cronell, Charles, 29, 29*n*, 34, 64*n*  
 Cruise, William, 103  
 Cumberland House, 80, 87, 92, 93, 93*n*,  
     181*n*, 185*n*, 199*n*, 234  
 Cumming, Cuthbert, 166, 168, 179*n*, 192*n*,  
     194, 195*n*, 223*n*  
 Cummings, Robert, 236  
 Curtis, William, 64*n*  
 Dalles, the, 227*n*  
 Davies, John, 205*n*  
 Davies, William, 205  
 Davis, John, 106*n*  
 Davis, Joseph, 14*n*  
 Dears, Thomas, 205  
 Dease, John Warren, 122, 122*n*, 177*n*,  
     233*n*  
 Dease, Peter Warren, 167, 184, 227*n*  
 Deed Poll (1821), 153, 164; (1834),  
     164*n*–165*n*  
 Deer Island, 128  
 Delormier, George, 205–6  
 Deschambeault, George, 166, 204  
 Detroit, 130  
 ‘Devil’s Cascade’, 114, 114*n*  
 Douglas, James, 164, 166, 204–5, 221*n*,  
     230*n*, 233*n*  
 Dunvegan, 181*n*, 196*n*  
 Dutton, Thomas, 64*n*  
 Eastmain, the, 5, 6, 10*n*, 30*n*, 59, 206*n*;  
     Factory, 13*n*  
 Edinburgh, 78, 173*n*  
 Elmsly, Mrs John, 138*n*  
 English River (District), 132*n*, 172*n*, 174*n*,  
     186*n*, 204  
 Erlandson, Erland, 206, 208*n*, 230*n*  
 Ermatinger, Edward, 199*n*, 206*n*  
 Ermatinger, Francis, 206–7  
 Eskimo Bay, 224*n*  
 Eskimo Point, 83*n*  
 Esson, John, 109, 109*n*, 110  
 Falconer, William, 78, 88, 91  
 Faries, Hugh, 168, 189, 217*n*  
 Farrenden, Peter, 64*n*  
 Feathers, traded at Albany, 65*n*, 69; at  
     Churchill, 89  
 Finlayson, Duncan, 165, 167, 186–7  
 Finlayson, Nicol, 166, 207  
 Fish, jack, *see* pike; ‘methy’ (burbot), 25,  
     25*n*, 26, 26*n*, 39, 39*n*, 40; perch, 11*n*,  
     33, 33*n*; pike, 11*n*; suckers, 62, 62*n*;  
     ‘tickomeg’ (whitefish), 11*n*, 27, 37;  
     trout, 11*n*  
 Fisher, Alexander, 168, 191–2  
 Fisher, Henry, 208  
 Fishing Creek (Albany), 4, 50*n*  
 Five Fathom Hole (York), 84, 84*n*, 85  
 Flotta (Orkneys), 109*n*  
 Forbes, John, 132, 132*n*  
 FORTS (fur trade posts): Alexander (*see*  
     Bas de la Rivière); Alexandria, 192*n*,  
     233*n*; Chimo, 206*n*, 207*n*, 223*n*;  
     Chipewyan, 170*n*, 173*n*, 175*n*, 220*n*,  
     222*n*; Colville, 190*n*, 194*n*, 197*n*;  
     Coulange, 195*n*; Edmonton, 182*n*;  
     Ellice, 235*n*; Frances, 173*n*; Garry, 158,  
     202, 227*n*, 234, 234*n*, Good Hope,  
     201*n*, 204*n*; Langley, 197*n*, 230*n*; Nez



- Perces, 190*n*, *see also* Walla Walla;  
 Nisqually, 216*n*; Pitt, 208*n*; Prince of  
 Wales, attacked by French (1782),  
 76–82, 84, 84*n*, resettled (1783), 93–4;  
 Quiberon, 130; Simpson (Nass), 175*n*,  
 193*n*, 199*n*, 200*n*, 215*n*, 220*n*, 221*n*;  
 Vancouver, 177*n*, 191*n*, 198*n*, 199*n*,  
 201*n*, 204*n*, 222, 236; Vermilion, 208*n*;  
 William, 101, 111*n*, 124, 124*n*, 125*n*,  
 162*n*, 170*n*, 179*n*, 188*n*
- Fox, — (farmer), 131
- Fox skins, 33, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 65*n*, 69,  
 89
- Fowler, Jonathan, 84*n*, 85*n*, 86*n*, 89, 90*n*
- Franklin, Capt. John, 184*n*, 201*n*
- Fraser, Paul, 208
- Fraser, Simon, 174*n*, 208*n*
- Fraser, Thomas (Secretary, HBC), 155–6,  
 166
- Fraser, Thomas (HBC clerk), 207–8
- French, attack Bay posts (late 17th  
 century), 3–5, 6, 8, 10*n*, 19*n*, 20*n*, 29*n*,  
 56; anticipated attack on Albany, 50–1,  
 51*n*, 53, 56, 57, 60*n*; attack Bay posts  
 (1782), 76–94
- Fullartine, John, 5, 8, 9*n*, 10, 10*n*, 13, 14,  
 14*n*, 15, 16*n*, 19*n*, 26*n*, 40*n*, 63–4, 64*n*
- Furs, French put little value on, 82, 86;  
 value at Churchill (1782), 79, 89; saved  
 at York (1783), 92, 92*n*, 93; *see also*  
 Beaver, Fox, Marten, Musquash, Otter,  
 Reindeer, Wolverine
- Gardens, gardening, 4, 8, 17*n*, 46, 46*n*,  
 49, 50, 51, 53, 55, 60–1; garden seeds  
 (various), 17*n*, 46*n*
- Garry, Nicholas, 191*n*, 226*n*
- Geese, 8, 10–65 *passim*; brant geese, 56,  
 56*n*
- Georgen, Henry, 136, 136*n*, 137, 138*n*
- Geyer, George, 3
- Gilpin Island (Old Factory Island), 10,  
 13, 13*n*, 14, 14*n*, 15, 30, 31, 61, 63
- Gladman, George, Senior, 208*n*
- Gladman, George, Junior, 208
- Gladman, Joseph, 209
- Gladman, William, 211
- Goats (at Albany), 4, 8, 10–65 *passim*;  
 size of, 21
- Godfrey, Jobe, 64*n*
- Gosport, 87*n*
- Graham, Andrew, 6, 11*n*, 14*n*, 30*n*, 33*n*,  
 56*n*, 76, 78, 79, 89*n*
- Grand Calumet Portage, 130, 130*n*
- Grand Lac, 217*n*
- Grand Portage, 92*n*, 130*n*
- Grand Rapids, 181*n*
- Good, Richard, 201*n*, 209
- Grant, Cuthbert, 192*n*, 209–11
- Grant, Francis, 209
- Grant, Richard, 211
- Great Falls (Labrador), 223*n*
- Grey Coat Hospital School, 173*n*
- Grimington, Michael, 5, 10*n*, 13, 13*n*, 14*n*,  
 15, 63, 64, 64*n*, 65, 66
- Haldane, John, 98, 100, 111, 111*n*, 112*n*,  
 139, 140
- 'Half-breeds', *see* 'Mixed-bloods'
- Hamel, Antoine, 215
- Hannah Bay, 107*n*
- Harding, Robert, 214–15
- Hardisty, Richard, 166, 211–12
- Hargrave, James, 160, 166, 171*n*, 174*n*,  
 180*n*, 181*n*, 184*n*, 185*n*, 186*n*, 187*n*,  
 188*n*, 194*n*, 195*n*, 201*n*, 212*n*, 214,  
 225*n*, 231*n*–232*n*
- Hargrave, Letitia, 174*n*, 184*n*
- Harriott, John Edward, 168, 197, 208*n*
- Harvey, Thomas, 110, 110*n*
- Hawaiian Islands, 228*n*
- Hearne, Samuel, map of Albany, 4, 14*n*,  
 15*n*, 28*n*, 45*n*, 54*n*; at Churchill (1782–  
 1784), 78–94 *passim*
- Hendry, William, 212
- Henley House, 87, 87*n*, 102*n*, 106*n*
- Heron, Francis, 168, 177*n*, 194–5, 213*n*
- Heron, James, 213
- Hodges, John T., 78, 83*n*
- Hodgson, John, 98, 99, 101, 106*n*, 112*n*
- Honolulu, 233*n*
- Holmes, David, 127, 127*n*
- Holmes, William, 93, 93*n*
- Holroyd, G. S., 103
- Holt, George, 78, 78*n*
- Hore, Thomas, 64*n*
- Hudson House, 80, 87*n*, 92, 93, 93*n*
- HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY
- Chief Factors, 153, 156, 163–4, 164*n*,  
 165; list of, 167; entries on, 168–87
- Chief Traders, 153, 156, 163–4, 164*n*,  
 165–6; list of, 168; entries on, 187–  
 200
- Clerks, 155, 164, 166; entries on, 200–  
 231
- Councils, position and power, 153–4,

HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY *contd.*

- 165*n*; Council of Northern Department, 177*n*, 220*n*, 223*n*; Council of Southern Department, 192*n*, 231*n*  
 London Committee, 3, 5, 8, 17*n*, 18*n*, 20*n*, 22*n*, 52*n*, 60*n*, 66*n*, 67*n*, 80, 103–104, 107*n*, 136*n*–149*n* *passim*  
 Postmasters, described, 232; entries on, 232–6  
 Hughes, James, 213–14  
 Hull, 212*n*  
 Hutchins, Thomas, 87*n*  
 Hutchinson, John, 212–13

Ile à la Crosse, 186*n*, 227

## INDIANS

- Tribes and groups: Abenaki, 200; Assiniboine, 217*n*; 'Assinnee Poets', 88*n*; 'Bungee' (Chippewa), 92, 92*n*; Chippewa, 217; Chipewyan, 29*n*, 80, 81, 81*n*, 94, 94*n*; Cree, 58, 58*n*, 222, 227, 229, 234, 'Western' or 'Plains' Cree, 81, 81*n*; 'Equestrian' (Atsina), 87; Flathead, 206*n*; 'Home' or 'Homeguard' (at Albany), 51, 52*n*, 55 (at Churchill), 80, 83, 84, 84*n*, 94, 94*n* (at York), 88, 88*n*, 91, 92; 'Lake' (Chippewa), 33*n*; Nahanni, 220*n*; 'Northern', *see* Chipewyan; Piegan, 182*n*, 208*n*; 'Plains', 208, 214, 227; 'Salkemy', 50, 50*n*, 55, 63; Saulteaux, 210*n*, 221, 235; Sekani, 217*n*; 'Shaggamies', 56, 56*n*, 57, 58, 61; Sioux, 210*n*; 'Snake', 88*n*; 'Southern', *see* Cree; 'Southward', 34, 38, 39, 42; 'U'Basquiou', 87*n*; 'Upland', 51, 51*n*, 53, 82, 82*n*  
 Languages (known to HBC traders); Alkonkian, 189, 203, 205, 223; Carrier, 225; Chinook, 231*n*; Chipewyan, 173, 174, 175, 203, 220; Chippewa, 209, 219, 226; Cree, 170, 173, 174, 175, 185, 186, 187, 188, 197, 204, 207, 208, 209, 211, 215, 220, 234; Kootenay, 216; Saulteaux, 173, 176, 185, 187, 188, 194, 202, 225  
 Individuals: 'Heiatchimissey' or 'Schotchamissey', 56, 56*n*; 'Leolo', 207*n*; 'Mattonabee', 94, 94*n*, 'Miskemote', 54, 54*n*, 57; 'Ostentty', 13; 'Post', 57; 'Spickahigon', 15; 'Whatting', 52, 52*n*  
 Inglis, Ellice & Co., 103*n*

- Irvine, John, 86, 90, 90*n*  
 Irving, Washington, 169*n*  
 Isbister, Thomas, 234  
 Isham, James, 6, 11*n*  
 Isle au Sable, 218*n*  
 Jackson, Christopher, 64*n*  
 Jasper House, 234*n*  
 Jefferson, William, 78, 83*n*  
 Jones, John Paul, 78*n*  
 Kaministikwia, 125*n*  
 Kamloops, 192*n*  
 Keith, George, 167, 171–2, 177*n*, 188*n*  
 Keith, James, 165, 167, 171*n*, 177, 195*n*, 198*n*, 228*n*, 321*n*  
 Kellock, James, 215  
 Kelsey, Henry, 30*n*  
 Kennedy, Alexander, 215  
 Kennedy, John, 215–16  
 Kenogamisee, 189*n*, 217, 217*n*  
 King's College (Aberdeen), 228*n*  
 King's Posts, 182*n*, 220, 226, 226*n*, 228*n*, 231*n*, 236, 236*n*  
 Kirkwall (Orkneys), 107*n*  
 Kittson, William, 216  
 Klyne, Michael, 234  
 Knight, James, 4, 5, 6, 13*n*, 17*n*, 19*n*  
 Knight, Robert, 64*n*  
 Kootenay, 216*n*  
 Kuckatoosh, 217*n*  
 Labrador, 223*n*  
 Lac des Allumettes, 203*n*  
 Lac du Sable, 216*n*, 223  
 Lac la Pluie, 221*n*, 225*n*, 226, 234; *see also* Rainy Lake under Lakes  
 Lac Seul, 218*n*  
 Lachine, 132, 156, 157, 177, 182*n*, 186*n*, 205, 224, 224*n*, 226, 228, 228*n*, 230*n*  
 La Cloche, 129, 129*n*, 219*n*  
 Laframboise, Michel, 235–6  
 Lake Huron (District), 178*n*, 181*n*, 203, 209, 209*n*, 212*n*, 218*n*, 219, 219*n*, 224, 228, 228*n*  
 Lake Superior (District), 111*n*, 172*n*, 173*n*, 187*n*, 206*n*, 217, 217*n*, 219, 219*n*, 224*n*, 227, 236, 236*n*  
 Lake of Two Mountains (electoral constituency), 170*n*; HBC District, 171*n*, 183*n*, 189*n*, 223*n*, 230*n*  
 LAKES: Abitibi, 7; Bad, 138; Ball, 97; Cat, 97; Dog, 124, 131; des Chats, 131,

- 131*n*; du Sable, 124; Eagle (Moar), 96–150 *passim*, naming of, 99*n*; 'Escabitchewan', *see* Ball L.; Great Slave, 29*n*, 214*n*, 222*n*; Huron, 129; Indian, 97, 99, 107*n*; Island, 170*n*, 199*n*, 229*n*, 235, 235*n*; La Croix, 123; La Pluie, *see* Rainy L.; Lesser Slave, 172*n*, 208*n*, 219*n*; Long, 102*n*, 106*n*, 206*n*, 219*n*; McLeod, 184*n*, 208*n*, 222*n*, 225*n*, 230*n*; Michan, 123*n*; Mille Lacs, 108*n*, 124, 124*n*; Mistassini, 218*n*; Moar, *see* Eagle L.; Nipigon, 97, 98, 107*n*, 111*n*, 196*n*; Nipissing, 130, 130*n*, 209*n*; Pickerel, 123*n*; Rainy, 97, 99, 101, 111, 111*n*, 112–23 *passim*, 126, 173*n*, 187*n*, 202, 202*n*, 227*n*; Red, 97, 98, 99, 107*n*, 108*n*; St Anne, 100; St Joseph, 97; Seul, 97, 98, 99, 197*n*, 108*n*, 111, 218*n*; Split, 229*n*, 235*n*; Superior, 97, 122, 124, 124*n*, 127, 132; Trout, 202*n*; of Two Mountains, 131, 131*n*; Vermilion, 122, 122*n*; 'Wepineban', *see* Indian L.; Whitefish, 219*n*; Windy, 235*n*; Winnipeg, 7, 92*n*, 97, 235*n*; of the Woods, 97, 122, 122*n*
- Lampson, William, 197*n*  
 Landry, Nicholas, 107, 107*n*  
 Lane, William, 216–17  
 Langterre, Capt., 83  
 Lansdowne, Lady, 161  
 Laronde, L. D. de, 236  
 Lean, Alexander, 137, 137*n*, 146, 146*n*  
 Leask, Robert, 101, 112, 112*n*; in North West Company custody, 112–20  
 Leblanc, Pierre, 234  
 Lewes, Charles Lee, 185*n*  
 Lewes, John Lee, 165, 167, 185–6  
 Linton, George, 216  
 Little Grand Rapid, 99*n*  
 Lloyd's Coffee House, 10*n*  
 Locky, William, 87, 93  
 Logan, Robert, 128, 128*n*, 129  
 'Long Island', 19, 22, 48, 60  
 Longmoor, Robert, 93*n*  
 Long Sault, 131, 131*n*  
 Luitet, John, 87*n*
- McBean (McBain), John, 165, 167, 178*n*, 181, 203  
 McBean (McBain), William, 232  
 McCleish (Macklish), Thomas, 30, 30*n*, 31  
 McCord, Thomas, 133, 134  
 McDonald, Archibald, 168, 197  
 McDonald, George, 222  
 Macdonell, Aeneas, death at Eagle Lake, 97–112*n*; subsequent legal proceedings, 139–41  
 McDonnell, Allan, 165, 167, 170*n*, 185, 195, 231*n*  
 McDougall, George, 219–20  
 McDougall, John, 223  
 McGillivray, Simon, Senior, 190*n*  
 McGillivray, Simon, Junior, 168, 190  
 McGillivray, William (director, North West Company), 133, 133*n*, 141*n*, 189*n*, 190*n*  
 McGillivray, William (HBC clerk), 162*n*, 222–3  
 McIntosh, Donald, Senior, 168, 188, 217*n*  
 McIntosh, Donald, Junior, 188*n*  
 McIntosh, John, 188*n*, 217  
 McIntosh, William, 165, 167, 181  
 McKay, Alexander W., 219  
 McKay, Donald, 217  
 McKay, Edward, 217–18  
 McKay, John, 236  
 McKay, Thomas, 221–2  
 McKay, William (Montreal resident), 136  
 McKay, William (HBC clerk), 218  
 McKay, William (HBC postmaster), 234–5  
 Mackenzie, Sir Alexander, 103*n*, 179*n*  
 McKenzie, Benjamin, 233  
 McKenzie, Charles, 218  
 McKenzie, Donald (HBC Chief Factor and Governor of Assiniboia), 157, 160, 165, 167, 175*n*, 177*n*, 179–80, 181*n*, 234*n*  
 McKenzie, Mrs Donald, 160, 179*n*, 180*n*  
 McKenzie, Donald (HBC clerk), 221  
 McKenzie, John (I), 223–4  
 McKenzie, John (II), 224  
 McKenzie, Kenneth (North West Company partner), 124, 124*n*, 127, 128  
 McKenzie, Nancy ('Matooskie'), 157, 180*n*, 234*n*  
 McKenzie, Peter, 218–19  
 Mackenzie River (District), 175*n*, 176*n*, 184*n*, 190*n*, 191*n*, 201, 201*n*, 202, 213, 220, 221, 223*n*  
 McKenzie, Roderick, Senior (Chief Factor), 164, 167, 185  
 McKenzie, Roderick, Junior, 186*n*  
 McKenzie, Roderick (HBC postmaster), 219  
 McKenzie, Hon. Roderick, 178*n*, 179*n*



- McKinlay, Archibald, 229  
 McLean, John, 184*n*, 204*n*, 223  
 McLellan, Archibald, and affair at Eagle Lake, 100, 111, 111*n*, 116, 117, 119–20, 122, 123, 126, 139–40  
 McLeod, Alexander R., 166, 168, 190–I, 221*n*  
 McLeod, Archibald N., 102*n*, 127, 127*n*, 128  
 McLeod, John (Chief Factor), 166, 168, 190  
 McLeod, John (HBC clerk), 220  
 McLoughlin, John, Senior, 122, 122*n*, 123, 165, 167, 176, 191*n*, 195*n*, 199*n*, 204*n*, 207*n*, 216*n*, 221*n*, 224*n*, 236*n*  
 McLoughlin, John, Junior, 177*n*  
 McMillan, James, 165, 167, 171*n*, 181*n*, 183–4  
 McMillan, Mrs James, 229  
 McMurray, Thomas, 168, 173*n*, 187–8  
 McNab, —, 87*n*  
 McPherson, Andrew, 217  
 McPherson, Murdoch, 166, 220–I  
 McTavish, Alexander, 168, 196–7  
 McTavish, Mrs Catherine, 158, 171*n*  
 McTavish, Frazer & Co., 103*n*  
 McTavish, John G., 165, 167, 171, 175, 175*n*–176*n*, 177*n*, 178*n*, 180*n*, 181*n*, 212*n*, 234*n*; friendship and correspondence with Simpson, 154–64 *passim*, 169*n*, 171*n*, 172*n*, 173*n*, 177*n*, 178*n*, 180*n*, 181*n*, 185*n*, 187*n*, 196*n*, 197*n*, 199*n*, 200*n*, 212*n*, 214*n*, 228*n*, 229*n*, 231*n*  
 McTavish, McGillivrays & Co., 169*n*  
 McTavish, Mary, 170*n*, 212*n*  
 McTavish, Nancy, 175*n*  
 McTavish, Simon, 141*n*  
 Mainwaring, William, 103*n*  
 Maitland, Garden & Auldjo, 143*n*  
 Manson, Donald, 166, 221  
 Marten, trapped at Albany, 20*n*–38 *passim*; traded at Albany, 55, 65*n*, 69  
 Marten, Humphrey, 78–91*n passim*  
 Martin Fall, 106*n*, 107*n*, 203*n*, 231*n*  
 'Matooskie', *see* McKenzie, Nancy  
 Mexico, 87  
 'Michems' ('Michells') Island, 39–43, 62  
 Michilimackinac, 129, 130, 184*n*  
 Michipicoten, 171*n*, 173*n*, 176*n*, 178*n*, 224*n*  
 Michiskan, 215*n*, 233*n*  
 Miles, Robert, 168, 195–6  
 Mingan, 172*n*, 194*n*, 205, 211, 211*n*, 226, 226*n*  
 Missionaries, Catholic, 210  
 'Mixed-bloods', in fur trade, 154, 163, 177*n*, 182*n*, 188*n*, 199, 205, 208–36 *passim*; women, 157, 158, 160, 169*n*, 171*n*, 175*n*, 178*n*, 182*n*, 187*n*, 203, 234*n*  
 Moar, John, 99*n*  
 Monneraye, Pierre B. J. de la, 77, 82*n*  
 Montreal, 97, 103, 104, 107*n*, 122*n*, 125–49 *passim*, 170*n*, 172*n*, 189*n*, 197*n*, 201, 203*n*, 211*n*, 219, 219*n*, 223*n*, 231*n*  
 Moose, 65, 69  
 Moose (Factory) (District), 3, 4, 17*n*, 20*n*, 94*n*, 107*n*, 157, 158, 171*n*, 172*n*, 178*n*, 180*n*, 201, 201*n*, 206*n*, 208, 208*n*, 209, 209*n*, 212, 212*n*, 219*n*, 228*n*, 230*n*, 232*n*  
 Mountain Portage, 124*n*  
 Mowat, Edward, 107, 107*n*  
 Mowat, John, and affair at Eagle Lake, 99, 101, 104–12 *passim*; in custody of North West Company, 112–35; trial and imprisonment, 136–46  
 Musquash, 89  
 Musquarro, 211*n*  
 Nairn, 207*n*  
 Nass, *see* Fort Simpson  
 Napier, Sir William, 174*n*–175*n*  
 Nattatisha Bluff (Albany), 28, 28*n*, 29  
 Nelson House, 181*n*  
 New Brunswick (HBC post), 170*n*, 209, 209*n*  
 New Caledonia (District), 174*n*, 182*n*, 184*n*, 190*n*, 192*n*, 193*n*, 202*n*, 205, 205*n*, 208*n*, 216*n*, 217, 217*n*, 221, 221*n*, 222*n*, 223, 223*n*, 229–30, 232*n*, 233, 233*n*, 235  
 New York, 107*n*, 148, 169  
 Nixon, John, 17*n*  
 Norway House, 158, 170*n*, 198*n*, 200*n*  
 North West Company, 93*n*, 153, 170*n*; and Eagle Lake affair, 97–150 *passim*; relations with XY Company, 98, 102*n*, 111*n*; negotiations with HBC, 103–4, 103*n*, 153; list of former servants in HBC employ, 167–8, 169–236 *passim*  
 Nourse, William, 224  
 Ogden, Henry, 194*n*  
 Ogden, Peter Skene, 168, 192*n*, 193–4, 199*n*, 221*n*  
 Oregon, 194*n*; Oregon City, 193*n*

- Orkneys, 102, 106*n*, 107*n*, 109*n*; allegedly captured by French, 116; HBC servants from, 233–6 *passim*; *see also* Birsay, Flotta, Kirkwall, Stromness
- Osnaburgh House, 97, 99, 101, 122*n*, 233*n*
- Otter skins, 65*n*, 69, 89
- 'Overplus' trade, 7
- Oxford House, 229*n*
- Pacific Fur Company, 167, 172*n*, 221*n*
- Pambrun, Pierre C., 166, 224
- Parisien, Joseph, and Eagle Lake affair, 109, 109*n*, 125, 138–42
- Pelly, Sir John Henry, 184*n*
- Pérouse, Comte de la, attacks Churchill and York, 77–92
- Perth, 169, 169*n*
- Pic, 187*n*, 206*n*
- Piegan Post, 208*n*
- Pitts, Stephen, 6, 14*n*, 64*n*
- Plymouth, 78*n*
- Point de Vie, 148
- Poplar (Popeller) Point (Albany), 13, 13*n*, 15, 24
- Portage de l'Île, 97
- Portage du Rat, 122
- Port Nelson, 3, 6, 56; *see also* York Factory
- Portneuf, 143, 144, 148, 149, 197*n*, 205*n*
- Prairie du Chien, 208*n*
- Pritchard, John, 111*n*
- Pruden, John P., 166, 168, 188–9
- Puget's Sound Agricultural Company, 221*n*
- Quebec, 104, 111*n*, 143–50 *passim*, 193*n*, 200, 224*n*
- Quinton, Capt., 149, 150
- Rabbits, 24–36 *passim*
- Rae, John, 225*n*
- Rae, Richard, 226
- Rae, William Glen, 225–6
- Randall, Robert, 46, 46*n*
- Red River (Settlement), 107*n*, 128*n*, 138*n*, 156, 157–62, 171*n*, 172*n*, 173*n*, 179–80, 179*n*–180*n*, 183*n*–184*n*, 185*n*, 186*n*, 188*n*, 197*n*, 199*n*, 200*n*, 202, 209–11, 212, 212*n*, 218*n*, 227*n*, 228, 229*n*, 233*n*, 234, 236*n*
- Reid, James, 141, 141*n*
- Reindeer, 33, 38, 42, 43, 69
- RIVERS: Albany, 3, 5, 7, 10*n*, 12*n*, 14*n*, 22*n*, 45; Assiniboine, 210; Berens, 99*n*, 236, 236*n*; Bow, 208*n*, 211*n*; Buenventura, 235*n*; Canoe, 45*n*; Churchill, 84, 93; Columbia, 174*n*, 225, 234*n*; Deer, 221*n*; Dog, 124; Finlay, 192*n*, 221*n*; Fox, 229*n*; Fraser, 174*n*, 223*n*, 230*n*; French, 124, 129; Grand, *see* Ottawa; Great Fish, 201*n*; Hayes, 84, 85, 90*n*; Kaministikwia, 124*n*; Kapiskan, 13*n*; 'Kin-no-tha', 45; Jackfish, 45*n*; Liarde, 220*n*; Little (Rivers), 12, 12*n*, 44, 45*n*; Loon, 123*n*; Mackenzie, 220; Mattawa, 130, 130*n*; Mississague, 203*n*; Missouri, 183*n*; Moose, 3, 7, 10*n*, 25, 25*n*, 42, 45, 50, 50*n*, 55, 56, 57, 61, 63; Nass, 221*n*; Nelson, 85, 89–90, 90*n*, 229*n*, 235; Ottawa, 130, 130*n*, 171*n*, 203, 204, 216, 223, 223*n*; Pabana, 100; Peace, 208; Peel, 201*n*; Pigeon, 97; Rabbit, 131; Rupert, 3, 10*n*, 50, 178*n*, 212, 215*n*, 218, 232, 232*n*, 233, 233*n*; Sacramento, 191*n*, 221; Saguenay, 236*n*; Saint Maurice, 206, 215; Saskatchewan, 88*n*, 93*n*, 97, 221*n*; Severn, 87; Sturgeon, 211*n*; Swan, 172*n*, 214*n*, 234; Thompson, 192*n*, 208*n*, 230*n*; 'Tippewagegon', 24, 28, 31, 32, 34, 35; Turtle, 227*n*; Umpqua, 191*n*, 221*n*, 235*n*; Willamette, 221*n*; Winnipeg, 97
- Robertson, Alexander, 226
- Robertson, Colin, 105, 128*n*, 132*n*, 143*n*, 154, 158, 165, 167, 169–70, 171*n*, 172*n*, 174*n*, 178*n*, 181*n*, 187*n*, 224*n*, 227*n*
- Robertson, James, 233
- Robertson, William, 174*n*–175*n*
- Robson, Joseph (map), 84*n*, 90*n*
- Rocky Mountain House, 234
- Rocky Mountains, 220
- Romilly, Samuel, 103
- Ronaldshay (Orkneys), 106*n*
- Ross, Alexander, 158, 234*n*
- Ross, Charles, 184*n*, 225
- Ross, Donald, 158, 160, 166, 168, 171*n*, 175*n*, 184*n*, 198
- Ross, George, 170*n*, 225
- Ross, Simon, 236
- Roussin, Charles, 235
- Routen, Thomas, 26, 26*n*, 27, 46, 64*n*
- Rowand, John, 165, 167, 182–3, 188*n*, 204*n*
- Rowland, James, 87*n*
- Rupert House, 3, 4, 180*n*
- Ryan, William, 225

- Ste Anne de Bellevue, 132*n*  
 St Joseph's Island, 128  
 St Maurice (District), 190*n*, 194*n*  
 Saskatchewan (District), 183*n*, 197*n*, 208, 211, 211*n*, 220, 227, 227*n*  
 Sault Ste Marie, 128, 128*n*, 178*n*, 181*n*, 228, 236*n*  
 Scarlett, J., 103  
 Scott, Adam, 135, 135*n*, 136  
 Scott, Sir Walter, 175*n*  
 Scurvy, 84, 86  
 Selkirk, Thomas Douglas, 5th Earl, 102, 103, 104, 124*n*, 128*n*, 137*n*, 141*n*–142*n*, 180*n*, 185*n*, 197*n*, 210*n*  
 Semple, Robert, 213*n*  
 Sergeant, Henry, 3  
 Setter, George, 200*n*, 235  
 Severn House, 199*n*  
 Sewell, Jonathan, Chief Justice of Lower Canada, 133*n*  
 Sewell, Stephen, Solicitor-General of Lower Canada, 133*n*, 138*n*  
 Shaw, Angus, 102, 102*n*, 125, 125*n*, 140, 141, 142  
 Sheep (at Albany), 4, 8, 10–65 *passim*  
 SHIPS: *Astrée*, 81*n*, 83, 88; *Cadborough*, 225; *Charlotte*, 78, 78*n*; *Dunkirk*, 46*n*; *Eddystone*, 106*n*, 127; *Engageante*, 81*n*, 83, 86*n*; *Gannymede*, 225*n*; *Hercules*, 146, 148, 149; *Hudson's Bay*, 5, 8, 10–15 *passim*, 26*n*, 63–5, 65*n*; *Isabella*, 225*n*; *King George*, 79, 84*n*, 85*n*, 86, 89; *Knight*, 5, 8, 11–20 *passim*, 22, 24, 31, 43–65 *passim*, 73; *Pery*, 14*n*; *Prince Rupert*, 82*n*, 83*n*, 89; *Severn*, 78, 84*n*, 86, 87, 88, 92; *Sceptre*, 78, 83, 86, 87*n*; *Triton*, 149  
 Simpson, Aemilius, 162*n*, 168, 198–9, 227*n*  
 Simpson, Alexander (HBC clerk) 161, 166, 185*n*, 227*n*, 228  
 Simpson, Alexander (Montreal merchant), 136, 137, 143, 144  
 Simpson, Frances, 157–62 *passim*, 169*n*, 172*n*, 173*n*, 175*n*, 179*n*, 182*n*, 187*n*, 188*n*, 200*n*  
 Simpson, Governor George, his policy after Coalition, 153–6; marriage, 157; difficulties at Red River (1830–2), 157–162; state of health, 159–60; financial problems, 160; upbringing, 161, 161*n*, 228*n*; criticism of, 157, 161, 164, 175*n*, 228*n*, 230*n*, 231*n*; his 'Character Book': physical description, 152; its history, 156; its composition and character, 162–165; its text, 169–236  
 Simpson, George, Junior, 156, 160, 162  
 Simpson, Isobel, 186*n*  
 Simpson, Mary, 161, 199*n*  
 Simpson, Simon, 26, 26*n*, 27, 29  
 Simpson, Thomas, 156, 161, 166, 177*n*, 181*n*, 184*n*–185*n*, 196*n*, 198*n*, 211*n*, 214*n*, 227–8  
 Sinclair, William, 199*n*, 227*n*  
 Siveright, John, 168, 185*n*, 194*n*, 195, 203*n*  
 Skipper, Charles (printer), 152  
 Small, Patrick, 227  
 Smallpox, 87, 87*n*–88*n*  
 Smith, Edward, 165, 167, 171*n*, 175, 215*n*, 220*n*  
 Smith, Thomas, 64*n*  
 Smith, William (Secretary, HBC), 106*n*, 155, 200*n*, 225*n*  
 Snake Country, 179*n*, 193*n*, 194*n*, 199*n*, 206*n*, 216*n*, 221*n*  
 Staunton, Richard, 14*n*, 19, 27, 29, 54, 64*n*  
 Stewart, Alexander, 167, 170, 173, 213, 222*n*  
 Stromness, 87*n*, 89, 106*n*, 107*n*  
 Stuart, James (later Sir James, Chief Justice of Lower Canada), 137–46 *passim*  
 Stuart, John, 157, 165, 167, 172*n*, 174–5, 176*n*, 180*n*, 191*n*, 196*n*, 200*n*, 210*n*–211*n*, 221*n*, 222*n*, 227*n*  
 Stuart, William, 28, 29, 29*n*, 64*n*  
 Swanston, John, 226–7  
 Taille, Marquis de la, 82*n*, 83  
 Tait, James, 125, 125*n*, 126  
 Tate, James, journal, 96, 106–50; career, 106*n*; at Eagle Lake, 101–12; in North West Company custody, 112–32; imprisonment and legal proceedings against in Montreal, 132–45; return to England, 146–50  
 Tate, Mrs Janet, 106*n*  
 Taylor, George, 229  
 Taylor, James, 10*n*, 11*n*  
 Taylor, Margaret, 157, 175*n*  
 Taylor, Thomas, 230*n*, 233  
 Tenant, Robert, 87  
 Thomas, Charles, 230  
 Thomas, John, 94*n*  
 Thomas, William, 98  
 'Thaw-vab-bis-ter', 48



- Thompson, David, 77, 79, 81*n*, 90*n*  
 Thoyts, Alexander, 15–22 *passim*, 29, 46, 51, 52, 53, 62, 63  
 Thunder Mountains, 128  
 Timiskaming (District), 185*n*, 189*n*, 195*n*, 202*n*, 203, 207, 217, 217*n*, 226, 236*n*  
 Tobacco, Virginia and Brazil, 66*n*  
 Tod, John, 164, 229–30, 235*n*  
 Todd, William, 159, 159*n*, 161, 168, 199–200  
 Tomison, William, 78, 80, 87, 87*n*–88*n*, 92, 92*n*, 93, 93*n*  
 Toppey, James, 64*n*  
 Trade (Albany), goods, 7, 66–7; returns, 63, 63*n*, 65*n*; standard of, 7, 8, 68–9  
 Tremblier, du, 77, 81*n*, 82*n*, 84*n*, 86*n*  
 Troyes, Pierre de, 3–4  
 Turnips, 17, 17*n*, 46*n*, 52, 53  
 Turnor, John, 78, 87, 91
- Umfreville, Edward, 77, 79, 81*n*, 82*n*, 90*n*, 91*n*  
 Ungava, 178*n*, 206, 206*n*, 207, 207*n*, 212*n*, 223*n*  
 ‘Union Flag’, 30, 30*n*, 42, 49, 73
- Vancouver Island, 119*n*, 225*n*,  
 Vérendrye, Sieur de la, 97  
 Victoria, 199*n*, 223*n*  
 Vincent, John, 233  
 Vincent, Governor Thomas, 106*n*, 233*n*
- Voltigeurs*, 216*n*, 224*n*
- Walla Walla, 222*n*, 224*n*, 231*n*, 232*n*  
 Wallace, Mansfield, 227–8  
 Waswanapi, 215*n*  
 ‘Waveys’, 30, 30*n*, 47, 48, 49, 50, 53  
 Westra (Orkneys), 112*n*  
 Weymoutashing, 223*n*  
 White Horse Plain, 210, 210*n*  
 Whithead, Benjamin, 64*n*  
 Williams, Edward, 17*n*, 64*n*  
 Wilson, Andrew, 235  
 Wilson, Robert, 132*n*, 132–6, 143  
 Winnipeg (District), 175*n*, 191*n*, 227*n*, 233  
 Wolf skins, 36, 65*n*, 69, 89  
 Wolverine skins, 33, 33*n*, 65*n*, 69, 89  
 Work, John, 168, 199  
 Wrightstown, 131
- XY Company, 98, 102*n*, 111*n*, 167, 168, 184*n*, 185*n*, 187*n*, 192*n*, 195*n*
- Yale, James M., 230  
 York Factory, 5, 9*n*, 16*n*, 29*n*, 30*n*; attacked by French (1782), 76–80, 83–91; resettled (1783), 92; (Factory) (District), 109*n*, 157, 157*n*, 159–60, 162*n*, 169*n*, 171*n*, 181*n*, 195*n*, 199*n*, 206*n*, 211*n*, 214, 214*n*, 226*n*, 229, 230*n*, 233*n*, 234



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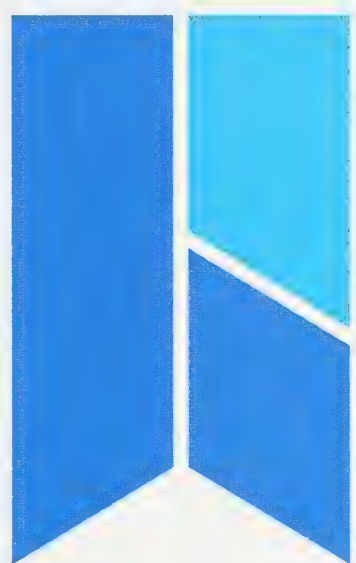
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